



Daily Report

East Europe

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8 December 1989

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CONTENTS

08 December 1989

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

Press Comment on Mladenov-Gorbachev Talks [BTA]	1
Finland Introduces Visas for Bulgarians [BTA]	1
Ministry of Internal Affairs News Conference [BTA]	1
Religious Procession Petitions Assembly [BTA]	1
'Union of Democratic Forces' Forms in Sofia [BTA]	2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TASS on CSSR CP 'Not Lost Ability to Act' [Moscow TASS]	3
Joint Soviet Friendship Society Presidium Resigns [Prague Radio]	3
Extraordinary Congress To Be Held 20-21 Dec [Prague Radio]	3
Party Presidium Expells Jakes, Stephan From Ranks [Prague TV]	3
Responsibility for 17 Nov Stated [Prague Radio]	4
Husak Names Deputy Premier Calfa New Leader [Prague Radio]	4
Calfa Lacks Civic Forum 'Support' [CTK]	4
Socialists Support Calfa [Prague Radio]	4
Havel Backs Carnogursky To Head Government [CTK]	5
Civic Forum Rejects Adamec Remarks on Ultimatums [CTK]	5
Denies Pressure on Adamec [Prague TV]	5
Defense Ministry, Civic Forum Delegations Meet [CTK]	6
Defense Minister Vacek Guarantees No Coup [Prague TV]	6
Czech National Front Presidium Meets [Prague Radio]	7
Slovak Union Council Leadership Resigns [Prague Radio]	7
Slovak Government Holds Session, Members Resign [Prague Radio]	7
TV Director Resigns, New Leader Appointed [Prague Radio]	7
Democratic Forum of Communists Leadership Meets	7
Outlines Stand [Prague Radio]	7
Further on Meeting [RUDE PRAVO 4 Dec]	7
Communist Democratic Forum on Party Role	8
Anti-Communist Leaflets Circulating [Prague Radio]	8
Describes Party Role [CTK]	8
Democratic Forum of Communists Makes New Demands [Prague Radio]	8

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Government Discusses Security Situation [ADN]	9
12 Organizations Take Part in Roundtable Talks [ADN]	10
LDPD's, New Forum's Demands [ADN]	10
Environment Discussed [East Berlin TV]	10
Election Law Discussed [ADN]	10
6 May Elections Urged [ADN]	11
Roundtable Talks End [ADN]	11
SED Discussion Paper Prepares for Congress [ADN]	11
SED Congress To Work Throught Night 8-9 Dec [ADN]	14
Demonstrations in Rostock; New Paper Published [ADN]	14
Socialist Paper Appears [ADN]	15
Erfurt Demonstration on Situation, Future [ADN]	15
Berliners Demonstrate for Free Elections [ADN]	15
Academy Strips Former Leaders of Honors [East Berlin Radio]	15

Ex-CDU Head Goetting Accused of Embezzlement [ADN]	15
Former Regional Leader Expelled From SED [ADN]	16
Kolditz Resigns as National Front President [ADN]	16
Journalist Confirms Suicide of Security Official [Hamburg DPA]	16
Constitutional Change Commission Meets [ADN]	16
Amnesty To Apply to About 15,000 People [ADN]	16
Saturday School Canceled for 'Safety' Reasons [ADN]	16
Modrow Discusses Council of Ministers Session [ADN]	16

HUNGARY

Ex-US Army Sergeant 'Confessed' to Spying [Rome LA REPUBBLICA 6 Dec]	18
Minister Horn Begins Visit, Talks in Dublin [MTI]	18
Horn Meets Haughey, Hillery [MTI]	18
Horn Ends Visit, Leaves [MTI]	19
Foreign Ministry Bankrupt; Envoys Appointed [Budapest Radio]	19
Bank Official Denies Suspension of IMF Talks [MTI]	19
Democratic Movement Urges Early Elections [Budapest Radio]	19

POLAND

Sejm Meets 7 Dec; Sets Issues on Agenda [PAP]	20
Adopts Amnesty Law [PAP]	20
2 Killed in Koszalin Prison; Riot Continues [Warsaw Radio]	20
Czarne Prison Revolt [PAP]	20
Council of Ministers Holds Session 6 Dec [PAP]	21
Walesa on Changes in Nation, Economic Situation [PAP]	21
Further Reportage on Nowa Huta Events	22
Solidarity Committee Comments [PAP]	22
Government Statement [Warsaw TV]	22
Paper Comments on GDR Relations, Changes [PAP]	22
Discrimination Protested [Warsaw Radio]	22

ROMANIA

Legislative Chamber, National Assembly To Convene [Bucharest Radio]	23
SCINTEIA Discusses Socialist Property [AGERPRES]	23

YUGOSLAVIA

SAWPY Presidium Addresses Serb, Slovene Issue [TANJUG]	25
Presidency, FEC Consulted on Joint Session [TANJUG]	29
Further on Serbian Economic Blockade of Slovenia	29
Smole Discusses Blockade [TANJUG]	29
Slovene Executive Council Comments [TANJUG]	30

Press Comment on Mladenov-Gorbachev Talks

AU0712132589 Sofia BTA in English
1135 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—An editorial in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO says that the Communists and the entire Bulgarian public are pleased with the results of the talks held between Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and president of the State Council, with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The paper writes that Bulgaria's entering into a period of genuine revolutionary reforms affects its international relations, too, and Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation has a leading part to play in these relations. Held in a spirit of comradeship, openness and friendship, the Bulgaro-Soviet summit talks reaffirmed that our parties, countries and peoples will keep promoting and strengthening their indestructible union on the basis of full equality, mutual benefit and fraternal solidarity, RABOTNICHESKO DELO says.

After decades of cliches and bombast it is difficult to formulate the importance of Soviet experience for us, KOOPERATIVNO SELO comments. "Petur Mladenov put it in simple and accurate terms: The experience amassed by the Soviet Union in its restructuring is of great importance to us. What we have in common is more than what sets us apart. We share a categorical socialist choice but also the difficulties into which we run. Bulgaria is opening to the world, but Bulgaro-Soviet friendship remains a vital condition for our progress," the paper writes, observing that "from its first steps, Bulgaria's new leadership makes it clear that it is determined to tap the Soviet perestroika experience."

Finland Introduces Visas for Bulgarians

AU3011225489 Sofia BTA in English
1857 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—As from December 1, 1989, the Republic of Finland unilaterally terminates the visa-free entry agreement between Bulgaria and Finland.

In future, Bulgarian nationals travelling to Finland or its territory will be required to have valid Finnish entry or transit visas, available from the Embassy of Finland in Sofia.

Ministry of Internal Affairs News Conference

AU0812083189 Sofia BTA in English
2212 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—The Ministry of Internal Affairs is determined to firmly follow the path of glasnost, stated at a press conference today Deputy Minister Stoyan Stoyanov. He announced that the draft

for revealing the secrets of a number of "closed zones" worked out by experts of the ministry will be discussed at the National Assembly during the debates for revising state and military secrets. The ministry will open a reception room for those willing to get some information. Regular press conferences with journalists are organized, every evening the television will make announcements about criminals wanted, stolen cars, serious crimes.

About 95 per cent of all crimes committed against individuals in Bulgaria are uncovered, said Mr Ivan Dimitrov, head of the People's Militia. He reported that this year there have been 1,480 murders, rapes and robberies, crime in Bulgaria totalling 27,449, and expressed concern over the increase of property crimes, burglaries included.

Mr Dimitrov said that there are about 1,200 prostitutes on record in Bulgaria and that they "work" at the seaside and in luxury hotels.

Mr Kostadin Kotsaliev, head of the Central Investigating Department, stated that according to the experts of the department the annual turnover of the "economy in shadow" in Bulgaria (illegal operations in construction and other economic sectors) come up to the tune of two milliard leva's worth, the total turnover of the economy being about 17 milliard leva.

Answering a question about the announcements made by some Western mass media that there are some rumours associating the death of the television news-reader Tatiana Titianova with the son of the former party and state leader, Mr Konstantin Kotsaliev said that he will propose a reopening of the investigation. The question was asked by the mother of the deceased, Ms. Krassimira Titianova, a television journalist, in whose opinion serious breaches were made during the investigation.

Religious Procession Petitions Assembly

AU0712184189 Sofia BTA in English
1757 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—Several thousand people signed the petition of the Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values presented to the National Assembly today. The committee insists on democratic changes in the law of religious denominations of 1947 and raises objections against the monopoly of the state over spiritual upbringing.

The restoration of Christmas and Easter as public holidays, the right to make religious propaganda, the right to Christian charity and opening hospitals are part of the committee's demands.

Several thousand people took part in the religious procession, an event unseen to take place in Sofia in the last decades. Priests and laity walked the short distance from St. Sofia Church to the National Assembly carrying

crosses, gonfalons, icons and posters which read "Christianity Alternative of Totalitarianism", "Religious Tolerance", "Christianity Basis for Peace and Democracy".

The participants received with applause the documents read by Father Khristofor Subev, chairman of the committee, and his reminding that the Church preserved the Bulgarian people in those centuries when the nation had to go through trials.

While priests were handing over the petition to the National Assembly, the procession chanted the slogans "Democracy", "Free Elections", "New Constitution".

'Union of Democratic Forces' Forms in Sofia

*AU0712181989 Sofia BTA in English
1703 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—Today the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria formed by independent democratic organizations held its constituent assembly.

Founders of the union are: The Independent Human Rights Society; the Ecoglasnost Independent Society; the Podkrepa (Support) Independent Labour Federation; the Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Spiritual Values; the Club of Persons Illegally Repressed after 1945; the Independent Student Society; the Civic Initiative Society; the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (United); the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

It is said in the announcement circulated on this occasion that the union is established for the purpose of uniting and coordinating the founders' efforts for accelerating the processes of democratization. The founders preserve their autonomy and independence, their specific profile and subject of activity, as well as their place in social life.

The assembly approved a declaration. Besides general demands for the establishment of a civic society, political pluralism, a multiparty system, law-abiding state and market economy, some concrete aims are also laid down in the declaration: equality and acknowledging the right of all forms of ownership—private, cooperative and state, to exist on an equal basis; a new labour and social legislation which should guarantee the citizens'

right to independent trade union strikes and protection of those in the lowest income bracket; working out a draft for a new democratic constitution of the country; to bring the national legislation in line with the Declaration of Human Rights and all documents related to the Helsinki process; depolitization of the Army and the People's Militia; free elections for a new National Assembly; rehabilitation of all persons unlawfully repressed during the period of totalitarian power; granting full autonomy to the establishments of higher education and true participation of students in their self-management; elimination of the ideological monopoly in the system of education and upbringing young generations; self-management of all research institutes and artistic and creative workers' associations; legal and financial independence of the mass media and the publishing houses; constitutionally guaranteeing the equality of non-believers and believers and a new democratic law concerning professing religion; legislative regulation of free religious activity and making religious denominations independent of the state; closing the Committee for Affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; bringing the development of the economy under the sway of the norms for the protection of environment; a new approach to ethnic and religious minorities which should conform with the human rights charter.

The Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria is open for all independent associations and political groups which are ready to join efforts in the struggle for the implementation of the above platform by working for the achievement of the aims set therein only by peaceful and legal means. New members are admitted to the Union of Democratic Forces only by consent of its founders, it is pointed out in the declaration.

The Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria is headed by a Coordination Council in which each organization is represented by three members.

The constituent assembly elected Mr Zhelyu Zhelev, Ph.D., chairman of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces; Mr Petur Beron, senior research associate and holder of an M.A. degree in biology was elected secretary of the council; Mr Georgi Spasov, senior research associate, and Mr Rumen Vodenicharov are spokesmen of the union.

TASS on CSSR CP 'Not Lost Ability to Act'

LD0712201989 Moscow TASS in English
1920 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Bazhanov:

Dialogue is the word used most frequently these days in Czechoslovakia. The country is engaged in a dialogue about its future. It is now clear to all that the road followed by the previous leadership has led the society into a crisis.

The students, outraged by the ruthless and unprovoked dispersal of their peaceful demonstrations, had just begun to react, when all of society moved into action, with people expressing their attitude toward the leadership at rallies attended by hundreds of thousands.

A country of solid democratic traditions, it has embarked on a road of democratic pluralism, and the active formation of new political parties has begun. The social-democratic party, founded in 1878, is re-emerging from obscurity, and a peasant, greens and other political groupings have been set up.

This diversity reflects the present-day polarization of society. Practically all political groups profess a desire to get the country out of the crisis and speed up the pace of economic restructuring and the democratization of political life.

The Communist Party has not lost its ability to act. It has released a programme to get the party and society out of the crisis, and preparations have started for an early party congress. It has been stated that party functionaries responsible for the crisis will be called to account.

The Communist Party has reneged on its notorious document on the "lessons of the crisis development" which painted a distorted and lopsided picture of the developments of 1968 and the introduction of the troops of five Warsaw Treaty countries.

Intelligentsia, whose opinion was hardly heeded by the previous leadership, has today united its forces with other progressive components of society in the "Civil Forum" and has already scored some significant political results.

The leadership of the Communist Party and the government are forced to consider the opinion of the Civil Forum. As a result, changes made in the country's Constitution established political pluralism and a multi-party system, with all political parties enjoying equal rights.

The Civil Forum advocates the establishment of a coalition government in which non-party people and all the political parties, including the communists, would have an equal number of representatives. However, the government formed on Sunday does not, in the opinion of Forum leaders, reflect the real alignment of forces in society.

A massive rally was again staged in Wenceslas Square, again there were threats of a general strike.

Joint Soviet Friendship Society Presidium Resigns

LD0812100189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 0700 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium and Secretariat of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society Central Committee met yesterday for a joint extraordinary session. Being aware of the fact that the demanding work of the society requires new personnel in leading posts, the Presidium resigned. It delegated its powers to a working group that will provide cadres and agenda preparation for the meeting of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society Central Committee in the shortest possible time.

Extraordinary Congress To Be Held 20-21 Dec

LD0712210789 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2039 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee at its session today expelled Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan from the party ranks. They were expelled because of grave political mistakes in tackling the social tension, above all the events of 17 November in Prague.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium addressed, in written form, those members of the party Central Committee who are of pension age and do not represent anybody anymore, asking them to resign from the party Central Committee.

It also set up a commission from among members of the party Central Control and Audit Commission to investigate serious cases of abuse of position by some officials of the party.

The members of the party Central Committee Presidium went on to assess and approve a proposal by the editorial board of RUDE PRAVO to improve the previous form of the daily by adding further pages. In a survey among readers, two-thirds of those questioned were in favor of this change, which also draws on the experience of world dailies.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium also proposed to convene an extraordinary congress of the party on 20 and 21 December.

Party Presidium Expells Jakes, Stephan From Ranks

LD0712184389 Prague Television Service
in Czech 1830 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee expelled at its session today Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stephan from the ranks of the CPCZ members.

They were expelled for their grave political mistakes in the course of solving the social tension, above all the 17 November 1989 events.

Responsibility for 17 Nov Stated

*LD0712183789 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1430 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Lubomir Fanta, spokesman of the Federal Assembly Commission for investigation of the events of 17 November, said that the documents that would be put forward to Parliament answered the question of the responsibility of former leading representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan, unequivocally: As supreme representatives of the political bodies in Czechoslovakia—CPCZ Central Committee and other organs—they are responsible for the standpoints, directives and other conclusions adopted at sessions of these organs and thus also for creating the political climate.

And this political climate is nowadays generally assessed as incorrect; as the climate from which ensued, among other things, various excessive interventions of the forces of order enforcement. It was the climate in which political problems were tackled with tools of power, and not political tools. As Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan were leading representative of these organs, the commission reached the conclusion that they were responsible.

Moreover, there is one very grave point here: The standpoints that were adopted by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and City Committee of the CPCZ in Prague immediately following the intervention, that is, after 17 November, are in the spirit that the intervention was justified and that there is no reason to question, for example, its intensity. Also this reflects a fundamental contradiction: On one hand the standpoint not to intervene—and Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan now insist that they gave this instruction—and on the other hand, after the intervention took place then the intervention was judged as justified.

So much from the spokesman of the Federal Assembly Commission for investigation of excessive intervention against a peaceful students' demonstration on 17 November.

Husak Names Deputy Premier Calfa New Leader

*LD0712175189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Today in Prague Castle, President Gustav Husak received Federal Premier Lavislav Adamec, who announced, both directly and by letter, that he is resigning.

After Ladislav Adamec announced that he insists on resigning and that the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of Czechoslovakia agrees with the resignation, the president of the Republic received Ladislav Adamec's resignation. He used this opportunity to thank him for the work in this post.

President Gustav Husak then received First Deputy Premier Marian Calfa and entrusted him with the management of the government and with the talks on its reorganization or the composition of a new Federal Government.

Calfa Lacks Civic Forum 'Support'

*LD0812014189 Prague CTK in English
0040 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—Ladislav Adamec, who resigned today, is fully responsible for the political crisis by having hastily formed a government that was rejected by the public and by having excited public opinion by untruthful statements in his televised address on Wednesday, Civic Forum [CF] Spokesman Jiri Dienstbier said tonight.

He stressed at a press conference of the Civic Forum that by resigning, Adamec evaded the responsibility he had as the premier of the Czechoslovak Government at the time of the political crisis. He also said that Marian Calfa at this moment does not enjoy the confidence and support of the Civic Forum. He stated that "if Mr Adamec proposes Marian Calfa and accepts at the same time the principle of nationality balance, the Civic Forum believes he expects the president of Czechoslovakia to be a Czech." He added that if the annulment of Article 4 of the Czechoslovak Constitution is to be taken into account, then the president must not only be a Czech but also a person without party affiliation.

If Marian Calfa forms a new government, the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence will cooperate with the premier if he shows a similar interest, Jiri Dienstbier said, and added that the Civic Forum's condition is that Jan Carnogursky is named deputy premier.

The CF spokesman said the Forum realizes the need for a reconstruction of the government so that it may guarantee that political upheavals will not take place and economic stability is not upset. The CF believes that effective means must be found to restore society without material losses.

Civic Forum representatives today met with representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Prague.

Socialists Support Calfa

*LD0812094889 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 0700 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Presidium agrees with Marian Calfa's commission to form a new Federal Government. It also considers it necessary that the new government be formed based on an agreement of political parties, public organizations, and the newly arising initiatives, so that it will correspond to the current political situation in the country and will be a government of true popular consensus.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party stand also demands that the new Federal Government be appointed by 10 December at the latest.

Havel Backs Carnogursky To Head Government

LD0812014689 Prague CTK in English
0043 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—“I am a writer by profession and do not have political ambitions. But I have always put common interests above personal ones and if the political situation develops in this direction I am willing to do so”, playwright Vaclav Havel said at a press conference here today when asked whether he would accept the post of president.

Vaclav Havel said he thought that Jan Carnogursky should head the government after the resignation of Ladislav Adamec.

“I have known Mr Calfa for a very short time. He has been in a top government post for two years and within this time he failed to draw attention to himself with any significant political deed. Jan Carnogursky has never held a government post in Slovakia; he is seen as a legitimate representative of peoples will.

Asked if a strike is inevitable, Vaclav Havel said that a strike can be a serious and great warning but also a national celebration.

In his reply to the question of how the Army views the situation, the playwright said that his impression was proved that the highest Army command would never allow to aim weapons against Czechoslovak citizens, on the contrary Minister Vacek spoke about his ideas how the new era, now starting, is to be reflected in the life of the Army. [sentence as received]

Civic Forum Rejects Adamec Remarks on Ultimatums

LD0712144689 Prague CTK in English
1343 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—The coordinating centre of the Civic Forum and the coordinating committee of the Public Against Violence issued a statement here today responding to yesterday's television speech by Premier Ladislav Adamec who indicated that he had been pressed by ultimatums raised by the two civic initiatives.

“This is not true. The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence are very much restrained in their talks with the premier. Before the forming of the government named last Sunday we did not raise any concrete demands although we had been asked to. We only recommended that the composition of the new government should reflect the fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has lost not only its constitutionally anchored leading role in society but above all the confidence of the public. We also recommended that the new government should be a government of experts,” the statement said.

It pointed out that only after the premier had learned about the negative response of the public to the composition of the new government and invited representatives of the two initiatives for new talks, “we handed in, at his explicit wish, our proposals for a possible reconstruction of the government. After an agreement with the premier had been reached, we further specified these proposals and handed them over to him this morning. We gave concrete recommendations only for seven out of the total of 21 ministerial posts,” the statement said.

“It is clear,” the document continued, “that the crisis has been called forth by the wrong composition of the government and not by us. We do not enforce our proposals and do not force anybody to hastily accept them; we simply strive to help the premier in the interest of all society. Since the way out of the economic crisis cannot be half-hearted restructuring as drafted by the former leadership, we offer the premier the capacities of our best economists who have been working on a better alternative for years. We do not seek lasting provisional arrangements and uncertainty, we do not want a constitutional crisis, we want to proceed on a peaceful road towards democracy and prosperity,” the statement emphasized.

Denies Pressure on Adamec

AU0712202889

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak at 1700 GMT on 7 December in its “Opinions and Points of View” program broadcasts a 60-minute program consisting of a series of statements and interviews on current internal developments in Czechoslovakia. Those who issued statements include Jiri Kanturek, a spokesman for Civic Forum; Jiri Svoboda, a film director; and Ladislav Staidl, a composer. Among those interviewed are Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister; Jaromir Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food; Milan Matyas, a representative of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church; and Jan Ferianec, director of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Forecasting Institute.

In his statement, Jiri Kanturek denies that Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement put Ladislav Adamec, former CSSR premier, under pressure while negotiating the formation of a new government. The only recommendation these two organizations made was that the new government should reflect the fact that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had lost its constitutionally guaranteed leading role in society and, first and foremost, that it had lost the public's trust. After Adamec had realized that his proposals were not acceptable, he requested Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement to make suggestions as to the government's composition. Civic Forum and Public Against Violence only want 7 out of the 21 seats. The crisis has arisen because of a badly formulated government, not because of Civic Forum. These organizations want a peaceful road to democracy and prosperity.

Johanes answers questions about Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. The interviewer wants to know if Czechoslovakia has a foreign policy. Johanes replies that in the foreign policy sphere Czechoslovakia will pursue the country's interests and will fulfill its obligations within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. He claims that during the past year Czechoslovak foreign policy has made important steps forward and states that Czechoslovakia does not want to stand to the side of developments. He mentions that Czechoslovakia has adopted the Vienna follow-up document, that agreements have been concluded with the EC, and that contacts have been developed with the European Parliament. He adds that despite the incorrect policy of the former leadership, Czechoslovakia has managed to maintain contacts with the world on such a level that Czechoslovakia will not remain in isolation.

Defense Ministry, Civic Forum Delegations Meet

*LD0812011189 Prague CTK in English
2306 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Defence Ministry delegation led by Minister Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek and a delegation of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre led by Vaclav Havel met here today.

It was stated that there are no reasons for public mistrust in the Army and for Army formations being unable to continue fulfilling their planned training tasks. The Army has taken over the weapons and ammunition of the People's Militia's into its depots and the transfer of the rest of the material will be finished in the next few days.

Civic Forum representatives said that, with regard to the present military-political situation in Europe, they respect Czechoslovakia's membership of the Warsaw Treaty, and expressed hope that both military blocs in Europe will be dissolved.

Defense Minister Vacek Guarantees No Coup

LD0712191689

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech at 1618 GMT on 6 December broadcasts a 45-minute recorded discussion with new Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek. Also participating in the discussion are (Dr Hana Marvanova) and (Jan Chudomel), representatives of the Independent Peace Initiative. Stanislav Pohoral, press spokesman for the Defense Ministry; Miroslav Kocian of the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union; Major Milan Kubin from the youth section of the Czechoslovak People's Army; (Simon Panek) and (Marek Benda) from the central student coordination strike committee; Jaroslav Gajdoskik, chief of the undergraduate military training department of Charles University; and Jiri Krejci, chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

Questions mainly focused on the internal life of the army; changes in the military training, which students must undertake as part of their course and which they see as a waste of study time; and the teaching of defense in secondary schools.

The defense minister was asked about the Soviet troops in the CSSR.

"[Unidentified speaker] Our general public has been acquainted with the stance on the events of 1968. We know the Warsaw Pact's position. What is the future of further deployment and perhaps also departure of Soviet troops from our territory?

"[Vacek] I think that it is an affair of governing authorities of our state to enter into talks about these matters. The reason is simple. A temporary stay of Soviet troops on CSSR territory is set by a governmental treaty between the CSSR and USSR governments. I would like to mention that it was signed—if I am not mistaken—by Dubcek, Cernik, and the former President Svoboda. These matters, therefore, must be settled by relevant authorities. I do not want to use this television screen to defend it.

"Recently, there was a report that the commander of the central group of Soviet troops said to a foreign news agency that 75,000 Soviet soldiers will leave. I have spoken to the commander of the central group of Soviet troops; he gave no such information to any of our foreign journalists. Nobody has made a statement so far that the above-mentioned information is false."

The new minister is asked about the current situation in the Czechoslovak People's Army:

"[Vacek] The situation is good. I am willing to take any of your representatives, of representatives of the strike committee, any of you, to whichever unit you point out—and their positions are no longer a secret, because of an order issued in July. I am willing to accompany you personally if we find a mutually suitable time. The situation is good."

The minister is then asked if he thinks that there is a possibility of a reverse of the democratization process by force:

"[Vacek] I'll give you an answer which will be damaging to me. Do you believe your politicians?

"[Unidentified speaker] Some.

"[Vacek] So, I won't name anyone. Please notice that I am not naming anyone. One of your representatives said that the Czechoslovak People's Army is not able—that is the instruments of power are not able to intervene, because they are led by quite incapable people who are not able to carry out a coup. I am that incapable person in the lead today who is giving you a guarantee, because I consider it improper [protoze to povazuju za neseriозni]. I give you a guarantee of honor as a minister of national defense that the Czechoslovak People's Army is

not in preparation of anything of the kind of which you probably—that is not quite the right word—suspect us.”

Czech National Front Presidium Meets

*LD0712141989 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 0800 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] The Presidium of the Czech National Front Central Committee has discussed a report on the composition of the Czech Government. It has also noted the fact that some deputies who at present do not represent their voters or about whom voters are complaining, are still active in representative bodies of the Czech Socialist Republic. It has therefore recommended that political parties and organizations associated in the Czech National Front examine deputies' activity and adopt a stand with the recommendation of a solution within the valid election laws.

Then members of the Presidium of the Czech National Front Central Committee endorsed the request of the Obroda club for acceleration of its registration by the Czech Ministry of Interior and Environment.

Slovak Union Council Leadership Resigns

*LD0712144889 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1400 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Ivan Gonko, chairman of the Slovak Trade Union Council, has asked to be released from the office.

Cyril Strelecky, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union Association of Metallurgical Workers was appointed new chairman.

With regard to the situation in trade union movement in Slovakia, the entire Secretariat and the Presidium of the Slovak Trade Union Council has also resigned.

Slovak Government Holds Session, Members Resign

*LD0812105689 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1000 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] The Slovak Government today discussed changes to its composition. It acknowledged that prior to today's session Frantisek Miseje, Milan Cic, and Kazimir Nagy asked to be released as members of the government.

At today's session Stefan Lazar, Ludovit Kilar, and Stefan Ferencei asked to be released from the office of member of the government. The other members of the Slovak Government agreed that they would let the Slovak National Council Presidium decide on their participation in the government.

Slovak Premier Pavel Hrivnak appealed to the ministers to remain in their chairs and organize the work of individual sectors until the decision by the Slovak National Council Presidium.

TV Director Resigns, New Leader Appointed

*LD2711162689 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Nov 89*

[Text] The Federal Government met at an extraordinary plenary session today. It has agreed with the request of Libor Batrla to be released from the post of the central director of Czechoslovak Television and appointed Miroslav Pavel to the post.

Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec briefed members of the government on the proceedings of talks with representatives of the Civic Forum. The federal government has given the delegation of the government instructions for further talks.

Democratic Forum of Communists Leadership Meets

Outlines Stand

*LD0212224489 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Dec 89*

[Text] The coordination committee of the Democratic Forum of Communists regards as a political error the fact that the party leadership is preparing its extraordinary congress in the old manner, did not decide to convene the extraordinary Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Congress by 20 December, and rejected in practice the idea of direct elections. The Democratic Forum of Communists goes on to demand that in order to enable them to inform both party members and the broader public about its activity and standpoints, they be given a permanent column in RUDO PRAVO, under the title "An Alternative," and RUDE PRAVO allocates it an editor.

In view of the great interest both of communists and non-communists in Democratic Forum membership, the coordination committee discussed a nationwide organizational structure for the Democratic Forum of Communists. It will operate within the CPCZ, but by its activity and membership it will go beyond its framework.

Further on Meeting

*AU0612183589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 4 Dec 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "The Democratic Forum of Communists"]

[Text] Prague—On Saturday [2 December] the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFK] coordinating leadership held a meeting. Among other things, it emphasizes in its adopted resolution that the DFK coordinating leadership considers it to be a political error for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] leadership to prepare an extraordinary CPCZ congress according to old methods, that it has decided not to convene an extraordinary CPCZ congress before 20 December 1989, and that, in practice, it has rejected the idea of direct elections.

The DFK also demands that a permanent rubric be placed at its disposal in RUDE PRAVO to provide information for party members and the general public on the DFK's activity and points of view.

In light of the great interest being shown by communists and non-communists in DFK membership, the coordinating leadership has discussed a nationwide organizational structure. The DFK will operate within the CPCZ but will exceed the party's framework in its activity and membership base. The DFK wants to operate as a feedback mechanism within the CPCZ and, at the same time, provide scope for a free exchange of views and the formulation of alternative proposals. We envisage that the DFK will operate at the primary, district, and central levels. It demands that the party leadership provides the DFK with the necessary material resources to ensure its activity and that it be given the opportunity to employ some staff. Decisions on the use of these resources and on the management of employees will be within the DFK's exclusive competence. In its resolution the DFK coordinating leadership appreciates the fact that the party leadership has provided the DFK leadership with scope.

A group of CPCZ members from Brno who acknowledge the statement issued by the Democratic Forum of Communists—whose policy principles were announced on 27 November in Prague—held their first meeting on Sunday [3 December].

Communist Democratic Forum on Party Role

Anti-Communist Leaflets Circulating

*LD0512101189 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 2030 GMT 4 Dec 89*

[Text] Leaflets headed "The Practices of the Czechoslovak Communist Party" are currently circulating in Czechoslovakia in which, among others, the Democratic Forum of Communists has been attributed a role that in reality the forum does not play, and indeed does not want to play. The Democratic Forum of Communists for this reason regards it as its duty to dissociate itself from these leaflets before the public. It regards them as an attempt to deal a blow to the renewal current within the Communist Party, as well as an attempt to upset and dilute the unity of the broad democratic movement that is being created in Czechoslovak society.

Describes Party Role

*LD0512141389 Prague CTK in English
1316 GMT 5 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—"We are an informal democratic movement within the Czechoslovak Communist Party", Press Spokesman for the Democratic Forum of Communists Rudolf Prevratti said today's RUDE PRAVO.

"The Democratic Forum of Communists is aware of the risk of a split in the party. But we reject it, we do not strive for it", he stressed and added that the Democratic Forum rejects the present rules of the party and their new draft as they do not prevent creation of new selfish factions but, on the contrary, make their creation possible. The Democratic Forum proposes to work out party rules of the democratic type. "Mechanisms of the feedback and prevention of power monopolies inside the party must be a substantial part of the party structure", the Democratic Forum spokesman stressed.

In the column "Debate Tribune", the Czech paper stated that the Democratic Forum of Communists has emerged as a stream of views in the party which considers it necessary to discuss all topics concerning party activities so far tabooed in a pre-congress debate. This discussion aims at fundamental restoration of the party, abolition of all methods, practices and privileges which might result in the return of old times, RUDE PRAVO concluded.

Democratic Forum of Communists Makes New Demands

*LD0812113489 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] The Democratic Forum of Communists [DFC] demands that the president of the republic unequivocally states on television that he bans any kind of power intervention by the Army and other armed forces. Only this act will prohibit any kind of armed violence. The DFC also demands a final disbanding of the People's Militias. It demands publication of the report on their planned use between 20-22 November this year. It also demands a direct relay of the proceedings of the extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress by radio and television.

The Democratic Forum of Communists demands that the party assets be made public in their full extent, and that a decision be made on using a part of it for social and cultural purposes.

Government Discusses Security Situation

LD0712150689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1437 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer informed the international press in Berlin on Thursday that the situation in the GDR is continuing to intensify. He pointed out that this situation is connected, above all, with the uncovering of abuses of office and corruption by former leading officials.

The head of the National Security Office, Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz, addressed the citizens of the GDR at the news conference. The lives and health of employees of the office and their families in the areas and districts of the GDR are in the greatest danger, he said. Several branch offices are no longer capable of working. The development could lead to unpredictable consequences for the country and for its citizens. The employees of his office are being held responsible for the incorrect security policy of the former leadership. He said that the Council of Ministers had made decisions on Thursday to restore order and security.

Asked about the destroying of files in offices for national security, Dr Schwanitz answered that he had issued the order for this. These are files and documents based on the outdated security doctrine and are, thus, taken over by events. It is undoubtedly psychologically wrong to issue such an order in this situation, he added in response to a supplementary question about wanting to hide something in this way.

He also announced that there had been attacks by hundreds of people on numerous area offices in his sphere of responsibility over the past few days. Among the security bodies there had been many injured who have been treated as out-patients.

A further question was whether there was a danger of a state of emergency. Initially Schwanitz answered that such a measure is "not yet under discussion." After all, he added in response to a further question, there is no provision for a state of emergency in any GDR laws.

Government spokesman Meyer announced at the beginning that the Council of Ministers had dealt mainly with the worsening situation in the country. The dissatisfaction about disclosing misuse of office and corruption had led to indignation and spontaneous actions by citizens and groups. Meyer conveyed the thanks of the government to those forces that had helped, irrespective of their ideologies, in limiting the damage and who are ready for a security partnership.

The state organs at all levels have been instructed to work more closely together with the citizens' initiatives and energetically support law and order on the basis of the Constitution and laws. It is the government's opinion that all problems should be solved nonviolently and through dialogue.

Wolfgang Schwantz appealed for reason, for an immediate halt to violent acts, and for a political solution to the problems that have arisen. He announced that with the establishment of the Office for National Security, he has taken measures to end unjustified interference with the rights of GDR citizens. A whole complex of orders and instructions aimed at checks and controls on persons have been rescinded. Referring to numbered published data from classified information, he named a series of concrete stipulations by the former Ministry of State Security, for example, for trips to capitalist countries, of handling state secrets, weapons, and explosives, as well as competitive sports.

Schwantz also announced that the area offices of Cottbus, Dresden, Suhl, and Rostock have completely terminated their work. He said this is partly due to citizens forcing their way into offices. The work of other offices has been considerably reduced. The staff of the security office nevertheless adhere to the instructions in a disciplined way to act nonviolently. He has ordered that "no targeted shot should be fired." However, the fact that his staff can only defend themselves through physical resistance is being abused. In the present situation, there is the danger of an escalation in the situation. It must be feared that the initiated process of democratic renewal will suffer major damage and hindrances as a result.

Schwantz said that the Office for National Security has begun work on drafting a new security doctrine. The apparatus will also be considerably reduced: Over 7,000 former staff members will strengthen the customs department, and others will be deployed at border crossing points. A number of office buildings will be cleared and made available for other uses. Schwantz specifically stated that basic documents of the former Ministry of State Security will be preserved as specimen copies for archives and historians.

Meyer said that further decisions of the Council of Ministers session include a draft law on the subject of joint ventures that is to be passed on to the People's Chamber president for discussion in the committees. It allows the establishment and activity of ventures with foreign participation in the GDR.

The government spokesman referred to further decisions for the promotion of itinerant trade and retail trade as a sideline, and the settlement of social issues and questions concerning labor law for the staff of the state apparatus who leave as a result of rationalization measures and structural changes. The GDR Government has noted, he said, that the measures it took in November for the protection of the internal market have resulted in a decline in purchases of goods.

Light Industry Minister Dr Gunter Halm outlined measures by the Council of Ministers for developing private and cooperative crafts and manufacturing. The relevant resolution relates to medium and long-term steps for further promoting performance and efficiency in the interests of supplies to the population. These include

new tax regulations, raising the existing number of permissible employees, merit promotions, cost-effective and profitable price changes, as well as a doubling of the annual tax-free allowances for assisting marriage partners.

12 Organizations Take Part in Roundtable Talks

LD0712134489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1324 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable talks were opened on Thursday shortly after 1400 in the Berlin Dietrich-Bonhoeffer-House by Senior Church Councillor Martin Ziegler.

In all, 12 parties, political groupings and organizations have taken up the invitation of the secretariat of the Federation of Evangelical Churches and the secretariat of the Berlin Bishops Conference. The Christian Democratic Union, the German Peasants Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, and New Forum each have three representatives; the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has two. The groupings Democracy Now, Democratic Construction, the Green Party, the Initiative Peace and Human Rights, the Socialist Democratic Party and the United Left each sent two representatives. [passage omitted]

LDPD's, New Forum's Demands

LD0712161389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1540 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The participants in the roundtable talks, which opened Thursday in Berlin, agreed after a debate lasting about 1 hour to increase the number of participants on Thursday by two representatives each for the Free German Trade Union Federation and the Independent League of Women. The proposal was accepted by a majority, according to which both organizations may, themselves, name their participants regardless of their possible party affiliation.

In the debate on topics to be put on the agenda, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] placed the securing of a state based on the rule of law in first place. The circle should also reach an understanding on rigorous action against the abuse of power and on a date for elections, which could be in May or June. It will be necessary to discuss the fundamentals of a parties law and changes to the Constitution that enable free elections.

In a "statement of the opposition," Ingrid Koeppe of the New Forum demanded the securing of the independence of the country. The government should declare itself to be a transitional government for conducting business. The Office for National Security, as an organization hostile to the Constitution, should be dissolved under civilian leadership. A draft electoral law and draft constitution should also be put on the agenda. Both should be put into force following thorough discussion by means

of a referendum. So that all political forces can participate in the process of democratization, free access to the media, the publishing of the opposition's own publications, and the setting up of the necessary offices throughout the country are needed. [passage omitted]

Environment Discussed

LD0712201489 East Berlin Television Service
in German 1830 GMT 7 Dec 89

[From the "Aktuelle Kamera" program]

[Excerpts] Roundtable talks began in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] While they were meeting behind closed doors—news agencies were allowed in—one of the spokesmen for this roundtable came out to the waiting correspondents and briefed them on the topics of agreement. First of all, there was the area of the state based on the rule of law. Changes to the amnesty passed yesterday played a role, as did a law on parties linked to the legal legitimization of citizens' committees and the working conditions for new groups.

There is the matter of the area that was often discussed up until today: the elections. Included are basic principles for a new electoral law, as well as proposals for a date for elections. They also dealt with proposals on amendments to the Constitution in as far as they are necessary for free elections to make the legitimization of the government possible.

[Begin spokesman recording] Immediately there was the question of the economy, securing supplies, the [word indistinct] of changing the policy on subsidies, and securing production. We do not yet know whether we will include this under the state based on the rule of law, the capability to work, and the possibility to work for free trade unions in this whole area. A further point is the media: points of view on a media law, securing access to the media. And another point is ecology. Here it is a matter of publishing, all publishing of environmental data, to master the environmental crisis, and a catalogue of priorities, that should be discussed, on environmental problems. [end recording]

Election Law Discussed

LD0712213389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2010 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable has spoken out in favor of drafting a new GDR constitution. A relevant proposal was adopted with one abstention. [passage omitted]

The text of the proposal adds: "The roundtable participants are agreed that the adoption of this new constitution should be decided in a referendum in 1990 after new elections to the People's Chamber. The constitutional changes necessary for the implementation of the new elections are to be drafted immediately."

The roundtable participants also noted the offer to take part in a relevant People's Chamber Committee and will decide the extent of its participation itself.

The roundtable participants also agreed to form a working group with equal participation for the drafting of bills for a new election and party and association law. Its composition will be coordinated by a representative of the parties represented in the People's Chamber and by a delegate from the non-parliamentary groupings. [passage omitted]

Up to the second break at around 1900, the discussion centered on proposals on the agenda and its preamble. In the controversial debate, Dr Gregor Gysi (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) formulated a proposal for the preamble, amended by a number of participants, that is to be voted on in the further course of the talks together with the whole of the agenda.

Several thousand demonstrators had gathered in front of the session building, demanding free elections, above all, on banners and in chants.

6 May Elections Urged

LD0712212189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2040 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This evening, the participants in the roundtable in Berlin recommended 6 May 1990 as the date for the next People's Chamber elections in the GDR. Twenty-two voted for this date, 11 abstained.

Afterward, the participants unanimously adopted the following statement after intense debate:

"The participants in the roundtable are meeting out of deep concern for our country, which has entered into a crisis, for its independence and its lasting development. They demand that the ecological, economic, and financial situation in our country be made public.

"Although the roundtable can exercise neither a parliamentary nor a governmental function, it intends to appeal to the public with proposals for overcoming the crisis. It demands to be informed by the People's Chamber and the government promptly before important legal, economic, and financial political decisions, and to be included in such decisions. It understands itself as a component of public control in our country. It plans to continue its work until the holding of free, democratic, and secret elections.

Roundtable Talks End

LD0812090689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0019 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable discussions ended at around 0100 today. The participants agreed to meet again on 18 December 1989.

At the conclusion of their discussions, the participants of the roundtable unanimously approved a further statement as follows:

"In the endeavor for a state based on the rule of law and the preservation of the interests of our people, the participants in the roundtable call upon the government to take immediate measures on the following questions:

"1. Every person who has been guilty of abuse of office and corruption will be called to account on the basis of the criminal code in force. In the execution of preliminary proceedings or criminal proceedings, the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure are to be applied. This implies, where necessary, the remission of warrants and not the order of illegal house arrests.

"1.1 The office of the GDR prosecutor-general must ensure without delay that all allegations, information, and reports are examined on the basis of Paragraph 95 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and that where there are grounds for suspicion of a criminal act, investigation is carried out immediately into any necessary securing of objects and evidence.

"1.2 The GDR Government is required to set up a special investigation department to look into the cases of abuse of office and corruption. The investigation department will be directly subordinated to the prime minister for the duration of its activity. The formulation of this investigation department will be made known to the public.

"1.3 The GDR prosecutor-general is required to cooperate effectively with the independent commission of enquiry set up on 4 December 1989. "1.4 The GDR Government is required to make public an immediate plan of measures for how security forces of the Interior Ministry can place all offices of the National Security Office under control so that there can be no destruction of documents or evidence and no possibility of misuse.

"2. The GDR Government is required to place the National Security Office under civilian control and to ensure that the employees leaving their posts can be employed elsewhere. The government should inform the public of the guarantee of the services that may be necessary in the area of security.

"3. The GDR Government is required to establish the legal framework necessary for the support of the activities of independent citizen's committees."

SED Discussion Paper Prepares for Congress

LD0712121789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1133 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The discussion paper conveyed to ADN of the working committee for the preparation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary party congress has the following text:

For an Alternative Democratic Socialism

Discussion standpoint of the working committee on the new formation, starting from the grass roots, of the SED as a modern socialist party

Antifascists and many people of good will have committed themselves since the end of World War II to the construction of a different, better Germany. They built the country up out of ruins. Among these were hundreds of thousands of comrades of our party. This cannot be forgotten. We reject expressions of contempt and hate against this majority in our party.

But we must note: The SED is responsible for the deepest crisis in the history of the GDR. It is the crisis of administrative- centralist socialism in our country. The program to date, the statutes and the working method of our party are indivisibly linked with this crisis. A certain circle of party functionaries is entangled in criminal activities or activities that are in no way legally regulated. Only the radical break with the Stalinist-shaped basic structures of the SED can give a new political home to those in our party who are committed to a free, just society in solidarity.

I.

Deep-reaching upheavals in the economic, social, security- political, ecological, and cultural conditions of existence of mankind and of our own people must be at the base of the politics of a modern socialist movement.

A Stalinist socialism can produce solutions in none of these areas. On the contrary: It has contributed to the crisis regarding the survival of mankind. A profit-dominated capitalist society, whose successful motivating force is expanding material requirements, is, in view of the global problems decisively caused by it, not a viable alternative for mankind.

The crisis of administrative socialism in our country can only be solved by the GDR together with all other democratic forces, going a new way beyond administrative socialism and the rule of transnational monopolies. In this we feel ourselves particularly committed to the social interests of the working people of our country. Solidarity, based on individual freedom and fundamental rights, in the development of all, equal conditions for individual self-realization, and the preservation of the natural and cultural legacy of mankind, these are our fundamental values. With them we will bring ourselves as socialist party of the GDR with a new program and democratic statute onto a new path of development of the GDR. This path of a socialist character, sought by us, is characterized by radical democracy and the rule of law, humanism, social justice, environmental protection, the implementation of real equal rights, and equality of the sexes.

This orientation lays open the democratic and humanist sources and contents of our traditions in the German and international workers' movement, and absorbs

them. Among these, in particular, are social-democratic, socialist, communist, antifascist, and pacifist traditions. We take from the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, Ernst Thaelmann, Rudolf Breitscheid, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, and from all international left traditions, particularly those of Lenin.

With the end of the postwar period, new possibilities for the solution of the German question within the framework of a European security system to be created, are opening up. We must use this chance. We support the solving of the German question, not in a German-national way, but in the sense of the democratization and demilitarization of Europe. We are for trusting cooperative relations between the GDR and the FRG, and the practical realization of a treaty-based community.

We address all members of the SED who agree with our concerns and aims to commit themselves to a radical, newly formed socialist party of democratic socialism. We appeal to all those members who have left our party in the past weeks out of protest at the politics of the old party leadership to rethink their decision again and to join this renewed party. Our country needs such a modern socialist party that struggles for roots within the people and adopts their yearnings and expectations as its own. We see this renewed party as one within the ensemble of all democratic parties and forces in our country.

II.

Everything must be done to ensure that the foundations of our daily life can be maintained on the basis of nonviolence, tolerance and joint responsibility. The vital interests of the citizens require the functioning of the supply systems, the protection of the rights of every individual, and the realization of the fundamental interests of all social groups, women and men, children, the young, and the old people of our country.

In the interest of a complete clarification of all offenses and crimes committed by party and state functionaries, we support a security partnership of all social and state investigative committees. The legal and other conditions for the work of the citizens' committees must be definitely ensured. In the interest of the democratic rule of law, we oppose any form of taking the law into one's own hands.

Particularly under conditions of the radical economic reform that must be introduced and the greater linkage of the GDR economy into the international division of labor, an energetic and competent representation of the interests of the enterprise workforces by viable trade unions or by works councils is absolutely essential. Only in this way can orientation on performance and social justice be linked with each other. The political forces should work together to this end.

Our party is striving for a social consensus as the basis for political decisions. For that reason we support a

roundtable at which agreements are reached on a date for and the process of free elections and on the process of creating a constitution.

Until the elections we ask all social forces to support or to tolerate Modrow's coalition government.

III.

The following urgent tasks must be solved:

1. In the roundtable discussions a consensus must be arrived at immediately regarding the means to be used to safeguard the lives, freedom, dignity, and rights of the people in our country.

For this reason, agreement must be reached between all political parties and movements on the type of attacks on people, objects, and facilities that warrant the deployment of state force.

We need a new thinking on security, which starts from the protection of the democratic state and the rights of the citizens. Resulting from this is a new determination of tasks for the Office for National Security, which will lead to a limitation of its structures and of the numbers of employees.

The professional reintegration of the departing ministers must be secured.

We reject discriminations against honest employees of this body.

The members of the combat groups should be prepared to form unarmed formations along with all forces committed to identical aims for the protection of the citizens, factories, and facilities. We propose to the People's Chamber to create the legal preconditions necessary for this.

2. We call on all members of our party to take responsibility for normality in daily life at their place of work. Supply, medical and social care, repair work, and services should be safeguarded with unconventional, unbureaucratic methods.

3. The manifestations of crisis in our economy create the need to immediately make an analysis of the state of the economy in every enterprise and in each region. The sequence of priorities for necessary and immediate measures must be established on the basis of this.

We support all reserves being used to strengthen the economy. We are thinking here of reducing the overall cost of administration, of including parts of the state reserve, and of all opportunities that derive from further disarmament steps.

The economic reform must begin immediately. At the same time, we want to maintain the public ownership of land and other means of production of major importance and create diverse forms for the workers to actually dispose of them.

The interest of economic units in market-viable performance and products must be brought fully to bear through the removal of administrative-centralist barriers. Economic planning must be reduced to decisive structures and proportions.

Through legislation and planning, the state must establish framework conditions that link the high efficiency of economic units with ecological and social interests.

To ensure the ability to compete, producers in industry and agriculture should receive the necessary freedom of decision-making and participate directly and adequately in the results. This will stimulate the working people, including the managers, toward responsibility.

Local regions must participate appropriately in the results of the economic units on their territory.

At the same time, legislation should secure in a comprehensive way the democratic cooperation of the working people and their trade unions in the enterprises.

The legal preconditions for comprehensive economic cooperative relations of producers and communes with the enterprises and firms of both socialist and capitalist countries should be created as quickly as possible. Among these are capital investment, profit transfer, joint ventures, and other forms of economic cooperation. The SED supports the rapid formation of more private small and medium enterprises, scientific-technical firms, and the promotion of crafts.

4. We favor the democratic renewal of the political system in the GDR. That means the working out of a new constitution. The division of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers should be guaranteed legally and factually.

We favor the working out of a new constitutional, administrative and penal law as well as the carrying out of a comprehensive administrative reform.

We favor free, secret, and equal elections at the earliest possible moment, which must be jointly established by all political forces. That presupposes that a new electoral law, a parties law, and a media law are created without delay.

We give our support to the incorporation immediately, until the elections, of all newly arisen democratic political movements and forces into the necessary decision-making process.

We propose that the state bodies create the necessary conditions for this. We support the SED checking to what extent it can render support.

The renewal of socialist society in the GDR is unthinkable without the active participation of churches and religious communities. We draw the critical conclusion from the developments of the past years that church policy can neither consist of the explanation of state expectations to the churches nor can it be pushed

through administratively. We wish to cross all borders artificially drawn up in the past and to enter a community of responsibility beyond contrary fundaments in world views.

This all means that the SED is in favor of a pluralist political system.

5. We need the freedom of science, education, literature, and art and a high level of culture in production and everyday life. We wish to use the chance to understand and shape socialism as well as an alternative cultural life form.

In times of economic difficulties the danger is great that the material base will be withdrawn from intellectual riches and high moral claims.

It is proposed to dispense with or to reduce to the necessary administrative work all control and monitoring mechanisms in the cultural field. The party supports transferring the resources at the disposal of the cultural sector to a greater extent into the hands of the area [bezirke] and local authorities.

We support the development of a modern media culture with a socialist orientation and the free access of all to information and cultural goods.

IV.

As a result of World War II and of postwar development, the German nation lives in two states and Berlin (West). The existence of two German states has become an indispensable guarantee of peace, security, and stability in Europe. The independence [eigenstaendigkeit] of the GDR makes possible a historic chance of a German alternative of democratic socialism as a neighbor, enjoying equal rights, of all states of Europe.

We stress the particular responsibility of the GDR and the FRG for the creation of a common European home. This challenge should manifest itself in an upgraded treaty-based community between the two states, which could in the future lead to confederative structures in the framework of all-European rapprochement. This treaty-based community must lead to meetings and cooperation in all areas that rapidly and tangibly improve the lives of people in both German states.

The capital of the GDR, Berlin, and Berlin (West) should develop the sort of cooperation that will make it a center of economic and intellectual life in Europe.

Our party declares, without reservation, its alliance with the CPSU and supports the multifaceted development of friendly relations between the GDR and the USSR. The Oder-Neisse border is inviolable for us. We will support all efforts that promote the friendship of the people of the GDR with the neighboring peoples of the People's Republic of Poland and the CSSR, as well as with all states. The SED supports fully and completely the alliance obligations of the GDR in the Warsaw Pact. The

European treaty network, in particular the CSCE process, the Quadripartite Agreement, the treaties of Moscow and Warsaw, and the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG, form integral elements in the political realities on the European continent. Whoever wishes peace must recognize these realities.

Our party is developing active relations with communist, socialist, and other leftist movements committed to democratic socialism. The international solidarity with all those fighting for national and social liberation, against hunger, educational neglect, unemployment, and neocolonialism remains an essential concern for us.

Our party is making its constructive contribution to solving mankind's global problems, in particular to securing peace, to disarmament, and to overcoming the ecological crisis, and pushing back underdevelopment.

SED Congress To Work Through Night 8-9 Dec

LD0712235589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2325 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Brought forward by 1 week, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] extraordinary congress begins Friday [8 December] evening in Berlin.

At the suggestion of the working commission to prepare the Party Congress, the delegates are to discuss a new conception for the party, and will elect managing bodies that will guarantee the SED's capability to act as an equal party in the process of renewal.

The party, which according to a "discussion paper" published by the working commission earlier today, stated in severe self-criticism that it had been "responsible for the most serious crisis in the history of the GDR," now wishes to make a "definite break with the Stalinist system and the monopoly of power and abuse of power it created."

As ADN learned from the working commission, the Special Party Congress is to begin at 1900 and take place as a night session through to Saturday morning. The delegates are to decide how and when the congress will then be continued and when the old Central Committee, which resigned last Sunday, will be brought to account.

Demonstrations in Rostock; New Paper Published

LD0712225589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2203 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—There were demonstrations today in several GDR cities, for example in Rostock, Erfurt, and Berlin in which several thousand citizens participated.

The first edition of the paper CITIZENS' COUNCIL published by the "United Citizens' Initiative for a New Socialism" was sold this evening outside churches in the

port city. During church services, New Forum representatives expressed their gratitude for help with its publishing. During services, an appeal by Rostock people's policemen was read out in which the uniformed policemen speak in favor of a security partnership for all movements supporting a democratic renewal of a socialist GDR. As in previous weeks, thousands of people participated in a demonstration through the city center afterward. In front of the Bezirk [area] Office for National Security, speakers from citizens' movements demanded a complete inventory of all evidence from the former Ministry for State Security and the immediate punishment of all violations of the law. [passage omitted]

Socialist Paper Appears

LD0812095189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—CITIZENS' COUNCIL is the name of a paper that has appeared in Rostock for the first time today. It is published by the "United Citizens' Initiatives for a New Socialism." It informs readers on eight pages about the activities and views of the forces united in this movement.

It says in the appeal that they are holding on to the hope of a socialist perspective, "because it is the political consequence of the Gospel, Marxism, and other humanist basic convictions."

The movement calls on residents of the port city to take part in an antifascist demonstration on 9 December. They note the renaissance of fascist forces with shock. "We cannot accept this without resistance. For this reason, all left-wing forces must be gathered. For this reason, everyone should take to the streets against reunification, neo-fascism, and xenophobia. We cannot afford any swing to the right," it says in the call for the demonstration.

Erfurt Demonstration on Situation, Future

LD0712220789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2125 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—A demonstration in Erfurt by more than 15,000 people this evening took place in a peaceful atmosphere that was calmed by songs and ironic poems.

Speakers briefed the participants on events and initiatives of the past few days. This included the formation of citizens' councils and citizens' watches to secure documents in buildings of the Office for National Security.

The formation of a cancer aid society was announced. There was a call to form a citizens' rampart in order to draw attention to the dilapidation of the historic city center. Speakers spoke against violence, revenge and xenophobia and expressed their outrage at the corruption of the powerful.

"We, the people, have carried out a nonviolent revolution. We can be proud of this," a doctor from the medical academy and a sympathizer with Democratic Departure said. His statement: "We are for Germany, not within the borders of 1937, but a Germany within a comprehensive European community—in liberty, equality and fraternity," met with much applause.

Berliners Demonstrate for Free Elections

LD0712204189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1931 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—According to reporters' estimates, more than 1,000 Berlin citizens, mainly young people, demonstrated this evening for free elections.

The procession, which responded to the appeal from the initiative group "Right to Democratic Elections," marched for about 2 hours starting in front of the World Clock on the Alexanderplatz, via Franzoesische Strasse and Friedrichstrasse, through the city center. The participants repeatedly chanted slogans such as "Free elections," "Stasi [state security police] out" and "Never again Germany," and "Nazis out."

While in front of the Council of State building, the desire for a free and unspoiled vote was expressed to the accompaniment of whistles. In front of the Central Committee building, some of the demonstrators demanded the revision of the spring election results. [passage omitted]

Academy Strips Former Leaders of Honors

LD0712221689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpts] An extraordinary plenary business session of the Academy of Sciences today dealt with a new loction for the academy in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

The conferring of the academy's bar of honor on Hon-ecker, Hager, Stoph and Mittag was reversed.

Ex-CDU Head Goetting Accused of Embezzlement

LD0712202389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1901 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Press Office states that the investigative commission given the task by a resolution of the CDU Main Executive on November 22 1989 of examining the financial administration by the former CDU chairman, Gerald Goetting, has determined that damage has been incurred to the CDU through the embezzlement of financial resources. The results of the investigations have, therefore, been handed over to the GDR state prosecutor for further handling and for the institution of protective measures.

Former Regional Leader Expelled From SED

LD0712192189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1746 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—The Secretariat of the Schwerin Area Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has carried out disciplinary procedures against Heinz Ziegner. As the Secretariat announced today, it has decided to expel the former first secretary of the area executive from the party for behavior detrimental to the party.

Kolditz Resigns as National Front President

LD0712163689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1608 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Lothar Kolditz has announced his resignation from his voluntary function as president of the National Council of the National Front. In a letter to the members of the National Council and the committees of the National Front, he puts forward proposals for a thorough renewal of the popular movement at the grass roots. The National Council's press office announced this to ADN today.

Prof Kolditz appealed for comprehensive support for the process of restructuring. "All are called on to achieve better things together," he stressed. He is of the opinion that he can better serve the country as an academic at the present time.

Journalist Confirms Suicide of Security Official

LD0812093389 Hamburg DPA in German
0908 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Suhl (DPA)—A leading officer of the Area (bezirk) Office for National Security in Suhl in Thuringia shot himself during an inspection of the building by members of the opposition group New Forum and Suhl citizens. An employee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany area paper FREIES WORT confirmed by telephone today that the incident took place on 5 December. The journalist described the suicide as a rash reaction. The elderly employee of the former State Security Service shot himself in the head "clearly out of fear." He was seriously injured and taken to hospital, where he died a short time later. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Change Commission Meets

LD0712190989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1646 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The commission to be established as a result of a People's Chamber resolution on 18 November 1989 to change and supplement the GDR Constitution held a constituent meeting today.

The press office of the GDR parliament announced that it elected as its chairman the deputy Professor Dr Muehlmann (NDPD) [National Democratic Party of Germany]; as first deputy chairman the deputy Dr Witho

Holland (LDPD) [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany]; and as other deputy chairmen the deputies Dr Wolfgang Herger (SED) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and Professor Dr Rudolf Wabersich (DBD) [Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany], as well as representative of the Christian Democratic Union who is still to be named.

The commission expressed its desire for representatives of social movements taking part in the roundtable, as well as representatives of churches and religious communities to participate in the work and submit their proposals to the People's Chamber Presidium, the announcement states.

The commission has unanimously adopted the view that its existing mandate to change and supplement the GDR Constitution has been overtaken by events and that there is a need to create a quite new constitution. In this context it will discuss initial ideas on the 21 December 1989. In the next few days it will turn to experts to recruit their aid. The commission expresses gratitude for the proposals on the Constitution that it has received from the population, and is interested in further ideas.

Amnesty To Apply to About 15,000 People

LD0712173989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1604 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Dieter Plath, deputy spokesman for the GDR State Prosecutor's Office, gave a briefing on how the amnesty will apply to about 15,000 people. It has never before been so closely linked with socialist and social justice. In the future, who will have authority over prisons will be considered. The State Prosecutor's Office is in favor of the Justice Ministry. Reintegration—not a pretty word, as was stressed—confronts all those concerned with a great task. In the release of grown citizens, there should be "no tutelage whatsoever on their place of work or residence," everyone must support them in their search. [passage omitted]

Saturday School Canceled for 'Safety' Reasons

LD0712035689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1652 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—As of now, instruction in GDR schools will no longer take place on Saturdays. An Education Ministry statement says: "Since safety of instruction can no longer be guaranteed for pupils on Saturdays in some GDR territories in particular, instruction is canceled on Saturdays until the start of the winter vacation. [passage omitted]"

Modrow Discusses Council of Ministers Session

LD0712185289 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1721 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government of the GDR is capable of acting. Prime Minister Hans Modrow made

this assessment today after the third session of the Council of Ministers to "Aktuelle Kamera" and ADN. The premier took the opportunity to talk mainly about those who can rely on the government in the first instance. They are the hundreds of thousands of hard-working people in the country who are producing with great responsibility, go about their business, and are performing the work of transportation.

"A government can only govern the country, can only do what citizens expect, if in each community, each town, in the districts and areas, viable work is present, if mayors and their councils, as well as the chairmen of the district governments can get down to work," Hans Modrow stressed. At the moment, there are constant fresh demands that hamper work and checks that little mutual trust besides great support for this concern. [sentence as received]

The prime minister appealed to every citizen of the GDR "in the meantime not to allow the anger they feel and criticisms they have to turn into attitudes and behavior that, in the end, are not only connected with criticism, but with reservations and with situations that restrict or no longer guarantee the capability to work." He stated that those who expect elected bodies, cities, and communities to do good work also have to help make good work possible.

He said he thought that these appeals on their own are not sufficient. He has full understanding for the exposure of misuse of office and corruption. He also understands this forming the basis for citizens' actions in helping to see to it that initiatives exist to ensure that nothing is eliminated, nothing is destroyed in the offices of the former Ministry of State Security. For that reason, he has had a handpicked a representative in each area since 6 December who is active on his behalf and is to work together with citizen initiatives "so that we jointly do everything necessary in this sphere." He has instructed

that decrees on informing on citizens and the like should be lifted immediately. From that point of view, security for the citizens must first of all exist, as stated by the government.

"I would also say quite unequivocally that wherever there are weapons there must be an awareness that limits also exist. Weapons must exist where they belong and must never be placed in the wrong hands. It must be understood that military installations belong to the national defense for defense itself, and if today over 20,000 members of our army are deployed, then the installations in which they have so far received their training must remain secure," the premier said. Nothing must occur to bring about insecurity in the country. The chairman of the Council of Ministers strongly underlined: "Those who say 'we are the people' should realize that they can act and be effective in the interests of the people and exclusively in the interests of the people."

He stressed that every person who has carried out abuse, and who still believes that there remains scope for it, has to know the following: This government intends to pull the carpet out from under everything of this type. A wealth of measures for this have already been taken. Modrow emphasized that the laws for a state can only be spoken by those who have the right to do so. "We cannot create a lawless state of affairs," he stressed. Every citizen in this country needs the Constitution to be adhered to and also needs the legal principles in decisions in every individual area to be guaranteed.

Speaking about his first meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev last Monday in Moscow, Hans Modrow said that it gave him strength. He had the feeling "that Modrow and Gorbachev would hit it off." He conveyed to the GDR citizens personal greetings from the host and from the Soviet Union, as well as the assurance that everything taking place in terms of democratic renewal for socialism in the GDR has the support of the USSR.

Ex-US Army Sergeant 'Confessed' to Spying*PM0712154489 Rome LA REPUBBLICA
in Italian 6 Dec 89 p 22*

["g.c." report: "Italo-American Spied for Budapest"]

[Text] Vicenza—Just as Bush and Gorbachev were shaking hands in Malta last Saturday, former U.S. Army paratroop Sergeant Tommaso Mortati, 42, born in Italy, was being arrested in Vicenza on charges of having passed top-secret documents to the Hungarian military intelligence service (MNKV 2).

The sergeant, who has confessed, also revealed that he belongs to a still-active espionage network. As well as disclosing secrets about American and NATO bases in Italy, he tried in 1984 and 1985 to bribe an officer in our own army.

There are several American and NATO bases in Vicenza, which made it a good observation post for the sergeant recruited by Budapest's agents. Apparently Italy's military secret service found out about Mortati partly thanks to information supplied by German and Austrian agents. The first spy to fall—in August last year—into the net cast by Western agents was in fact U.S. Army Sgt Clyde Lee Conrad, employed at the German base of Heidelberg. Next it was the turn of U.S. Air Force Captain John Hirsch. Last, a month ago in Vienna, the most important link in this chain was arrested—Hungarian-born naturalized American Zoltan Szabo, who was Mortati's contact.

Mortati, born in Cosenza province, later emigrated to the United States, where he obtained U.S. citizenship. He was stopped by the police while leaving the Vicenza prefect's office, where he had gone to apply for certain documents. He left the U.S. Army 2 years ago but stayed in contact with his old friends partly because his U.S. wife worked in the barracks.

At his home detectives found a Sony two-way radio hidden under a cloth in the kitchen. He said that whenever he heard a special piece of music he would start transmitting, using an alphanumeric code generated by a miniaturized encoder. Szabo recruited him in 1981 and had him attend a fortnight's course in a "safe" house in Budapest. He received \$500 a month for his services, plus a payment for every report filed, based on its importance.

Minister Horn Begins Visit, Talks in Dublin*LD0612170789 Budapest MTI in English
1112 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] Dublin, December 6 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn began his talks in Dublin on Wednesday.

Mr Horn is the first Hungarian foreign minister to pay an official visit to the Republic of Ireland.

Mr Horn, who arrived in Dublin on Tuesday evening, first met Deputy Prime Minister Brian Lenihan, minister of defence.

Officials talks were then held with his host, Foreign Minister Gerard Collins. Also present at the talks was Hungarian Ambassador Jozsef Gyorko.

On Wednesday afternoon, Mr Horn is to meet Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, who is to take over the post of president of the European Community at the EC's Strasbourg summit on Friday.

Also this afternoon, Mr Horn will pay a courtesy call on Irish President Patrick Hillery.

This evening, the Hungarian foreign minister is scheduled to hold talks with the Irish minister of trade and meet with leaders of the Irish Parliament.

Horn Meets Haughey, Hillery*LD0712130189 Budapest MTI in English
2240 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Dublin, December 6 (MTI)—Charles Haughey, prime minister of the Republic of Ireland, met Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs. At the cordial meeting, they held an exchange of views on the changes affecting Hungary, and, in general, Eastern Europe. They also discussed the implications of the aid granted by the European communities to Hungary and Poland.

Previously, Mr Horn held official talks with Gerard Collins, minister of foreign affairs, followed by a joint press conference. They stressed that both governments wished to have close contacts particularly during the coming months, with special regard to the first half of 1990, when the Republic of Ireland will chair the sessions of the European Communities.

The Hungarian diplomat stressed the importance for Hungary of a close cooperation with every European country.

'We see an especially good opportunity for deepening Irish-Hungarian relations. The Republic of Ireland has accumulated a great deal of experience in establishing the system of democratic institutions and developing the economy, which may prove useful to Hungary,' said Mr Horn.

At the press conference, Gerard Collins announced his intention to accept the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart and pay a visit to Hungary as early as mid-February, 1990. He expressed the hope that at the Strasbourg summit of the EC this weekend, guiding decisions will be passed on a common position in connection with the East European changes.

Gyula Horn paid a courtesy visit to Patrick Hillery, president of the Republic, on Wednesday, and then held talks with Terry Leyden, minister for trade. His Wednesday itinerary drew to an end with a visit to Parliament. The Hungarian diplomat met Sean Treacy, speaker of the Dail Eireann [House of Representatives] and Sean Doherty, speaker of the Seanad Eireann [Senate].

Horn Ends Visit, Leaves

LD0812001489 Budapest MTI in English
2158 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Dublin, December 7 (MTI)—In the course of their talks in Dublin, Charles Haughey, prime minister of the Republic of Ireland, assured Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, that he would take the chair at the Strasbourg summit of the European Communities this weekend aware of the historical significance of the East European changes, and that during his chairmanship in the forthcoming six months, he would like to give priority to developing relations with Hungary.

On his two-day visit to Dublin concluded on Thursday, Mr Horn said:

"The Irish Government is well aware of its special responsibility at this milestone in the history of Europe. All of the officials I met with pledged the maximum support of the Irish delegation to Hungary through promoting its requirements at the forums of the European Communities."

The Irish Government head emphasized that he considered the agreement between Hungary and the International Monetary Fund to be of vital importance, but stressed that the financial and other forms of support granted by the European communities would be a parallel action, soon to be decided on, and not directly dependant on, an agreement with the IMF.

Gyula Horn left for Budapest on Thursday night.

Foreign Ministry Bankrupt; Envoys Appointed

LD0712121189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Jozsef Orosz reports on the session of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee.

[Orosz] The Foreign Ministry has been insolvent for 5 days. Bela Havasi, deputy minister of the department, said, supplementing this announcement by saying that if the ministry does not receive from the budget a further 884 million forints, in addition to the approximately 2 billion forints' support assured for next year, then by September they can pull down the shutters.

To this the Finance Ministry's official responsible replied in just one sentence: The ministry can not give any money.

According to Deputy Frigyes Puja, if this is the case, it will mean this country's foreign political closure.

Deputy Laszlo Morvay said that the ministry's submission is unacceptable. They have two alternatives: Either they get the money or they close up down shop. In his view, they must also examine the ministry's Budapest apparatus, the reduction of the work force.

The fact is that the deputy foreign minister did not mention the reduction of the 1,700-strong apparatus. Instead, he said that they will recall 22 diplomats and 14 administrative workers from foreign missions for reasons of thrift.

Also on the agenda of the parliament committee is the hearing of five ambassadors-elect. According to plans, Keza Kotai will become ambassador in Canberra, Laszlo Major will go to Buenos Aires—both are staff members of the Hungarian Socialist Party. Istvan Oszi will become ambassador in Belgrade, Janos Domeny in Caracas, while Mihaly Torok will go to Maputo. These three work in the Foreign Ministry.

Bank Official Denies Suspension of IMF Talks

LD0612173889 Budapest MTI in English
1044 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—"The rumours are simply ridiculous. Talks with the IMF are going very well indeed", said the first deputy president of the National Bank of Hungary [NBH], Mr Imre Tarafas, in response to Wednesday [6 December] morning AFP reports quoting "reliable sources" as saying that serious discrepancies in the negotiating points of the Hungarian and IMF delegations may lead to suspension of talks.

Mr Tarafas said he had spoken with the head of the IMF mission in Budapest who was similarly surprised by AFP's "unfounded reports". He was similarly unable to give any clue as to who might have been the source.

The Hungarian and IMF delegations expect to finish discussing the government's economic programme for 1990 by the second half of this week, when the IMF delegation will leave Hungary. The government economic programme and next year's budget will come before the December session of Parliament. Afterwards, talks will be resumed with the IMF.

AFP quoted an unidentified official as saying that the principal sticking point was the Hungarian budget deficit, but the first deputy president of the NBH said that the two negotiating parties were "thinking in the same order of figures" about next year's budget.

Democratic Movement Urges Early Elections

LD0612045989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Aligning itself behind those demanding parliamentary elections as soon as possible is an influential movement, which was formed not long ago.

The Movement for Democratic Hungary's Provisional Budapest coordinating committee urges parliamentary elections as soon as possible. The body also proposes that within the shortest possible time after the elections, there should be the opportunity to elect the president of the republic by means of popular vote, since more than 2 million people voted in favor of this in November.

The leading personality of the Movement for Democratic Hungary is Imre Pozsgay, one of the presidential candidates.

Sejm Meets 7 Dec; Sets Issues on Agenda*LD0712222989 Warsaw PAP in English
1201 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 7—The Sejm began debates shortly after 1100 hrs today.

The following are on the agenda: review of draft resolution on setting up a constitutional commission and election of its members, a report of the Justice Committee and Legislative Committee on the Senate's stance on the law on amnesty of October 16, 1989, a report by the Social Policy Committee and Legislative Committee on the stance of the Senate on the law of October 16, 1989 on amending the law on the special rights of some people to be rehired, and question time.

The agenda was complemented with the first reading of the government's draft law on changing the date of the presentation of the budget bill for 1990 to the Sejm and Senate, the first reading of the government draft law on changes in the organization and operation of cooperatives and a statement of the foreign affairs minister on the ongoing discussion on the reunification of both German states. The Sejm crossed out the point relating to changes in Sejm rules. The cooperative issue aroused heated polemics among the deputies and was passed with 185 votes for, 177 against and 35 abstentions.

Sejm speaker Kozakiewicz announced that the debates could be prolonged till Friday.

Adopts Amnesty Law*LD0812023989 Warsaw PAP in English
0109 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 7—The Sejm (lower house of Polish Parliament) discussed here today issues which aroused much public controversy, namely, the Senate's amendments designed to broaden the scope of the amnesty law.

Amnesty Law

The Sejm rejected the majority of the amendments, including the one which aroused the sharpest protests. The amnesty was to have covered recidivists, perpetrators of audacious larceny and burglary, perpetrators of robbery, and perpetrators of road accidents (in case they were drunk and accidents caused death of the third party). There were 327 votes for the rejection of these amendments, and 34 against (there were 33 abstentions).

As a result of the examination of the senate's amendments, the Sejm adopted the final version of the law on amnesty.

The Sejm examined amendments to the law on the reinstatement to work. Its present title is: The Law on the Reinstatement to Work of People Dismissed Because of Trade Union and Self-Management Activity, and Political and Religious Beliefs. The Sejm rejected the Senate's amendments with 309 votes (with 9 votes for, and 7 abstentions).

Balcerowicz's Request

Last Wednesday the government submitted to the Sejm and to the Senate a draft law on changing the date of the presentation of the budget bill for 1990. The Sejm passed the law today, the budget bill is to be presented till December 20, 1989.

While presenting the causes, Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz said that under way was intensive work on the draft budget the main outlines of which were already ready. It completes in a way the entire package of legal acts (the government justification included a dozen or so) which were to bring about fundamental changes of the economic system and their mutual links were obvious.

Also today, the daily agenda included the first reading of the draft law on changes in the organization and operation of cooperatives.

Constitutional Commission

The Sejm set up a constitutional commission. It will be the main task of the commission to conduct work on the draft of a new constitution which will correspond with the changes taking place in Poland. The commission includes 16 deputies from the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], 15 from the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP), 7 from the Polish Peasants' Party-Rebirth (PSL-ODRODZENIE), 3 from the Democratic Party (DP), and 1 from each Christian Union and PSL [Polish Peasant Party] and one non-party member. The commission is composed of 46 members.

The Sejm also discussed the statement by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on the current discussion on the unification of the two German states (the text of the statement is given separately).

The Sejm will hold a meeting Friday.

2 Killed in Koszalin Prison; Riot Continues*LD0812105989 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1005 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] A moment ago, we received this report from Szczecin.

Yesterday evening, as soon as the Sejm announced its decision not to extend the amnesty, prisoners began a riot at the Goleniow Prison. The prisoners at (?Szczawowo) prison in Koszalin Voivodship started a fire. Two people have died up to now. The prison riot is still in progress. [passage omitted]

Czarne Prison Revolt*LD0812120889 Warsaw PAP in English
1112 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Slupsk, Dec. 8—The revolt of prisoners at the prison in town of Czarne in the Slupsk Voivodship takes a dramatic course. Habitual criminals are imprisoned

there. The first trouble occurred after the broadcast of the Telekspres news programme on December 7 during which prisoners learned about the voting in the Sejm on the amnesty unfavourable for habitual criminals. The prisoners started destroying equipment, set warehouse facilities on fire and attacked prison guards who tried to put the situation under control.

Three battered prisoners with numerous stab wounds were dumped at the gate of the main jail surrounded by guards. Two prisoners were dead and the third one died on his way to hospital. It is suspected that the situation was used to settle accounts among prisoners.

Director of the District Board of Prisons in Koszalin Col. Tadeusz Judycki, who is now in the prison in the town of Czarne, told a PAP reporter today that prison guards were making attempts to put the situation under control. Police troops surrounded the area outside the prison to prevent the prisoners from escaping.

About 1,500 convicts stay in the prison in Czarne.

Council of Ministers Holds Session 6 Dec

LD0712055989 Warsaw PAP in English
0108 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—The Polish Council of Ministers held a meeting here today presided over by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The council resolved to ask the Sejm to change the date of presenting by the government to the parliament a draft budgetary law (from December 7 to December 20). Intensive work on the budgetary law is nearing an end. The government intends to present the draft together with a dozen or so other laws that would determine the implementation of the economic program.

Banking and Other Laws

The meeting adopted a draft law on changes in some laws on taxes. The proposed solutions envisage equalization of taxation rules for economic subjects regardless of their ownership rights and restrictions as to tax reductions.

The Council adopted draft amendments to the Law on Financial Administration in state-owned enterprises, and draft amendments to the banking law and some other laws.

The assumptions of the financial and credit policy are to be replaced with the assumptions of the state's monetary policy.

Law on Foreign Exchange

The meeting adopted draft amendments to the law on foreign exchange. The basic goal of the proposed regulation is to introduce convertibility of the zloty. The law is

to eliminate the double-currency system in economy. The obligatory exchange of currency by foreigners is to be lifted.

The Council also adopted draft amendments to the law on carrying out the economic activity in Poland by foreign legal and natural persons in the field of small manufacture and on economic activity with the share of foreign subjects.

Walesa on Changes in Nation, Economic Situation

LD0712233789 Warsaw PAP in English
2110 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec. 7—"Only economic reforms will save Poland and all of Eastern Europe from great emigration which might be disastrous also to the West. Then we will perish together, but with the West, not me, being guilty of this disorder because of failing to help our reforms," Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa told a news conference here on Thursday.

Walesa stressed, though, that during his talks with Western economic circles he had met with understanding for Polish problems and with interest in cooperation with Poland. "The West wants to help us and it gives means, too, but people here still do not know how to work, talk, they do not even know foreign languages. Many put their own interest before the good of Poland," he said.

"Now all efforts should aim at using that which the world gives us and that which we have in Poland. Nobody I talked with in the West told me that one cannot do business in Eastern Europe. They know that the best possibilities are today here but they must have someone to talk with. I suggest that the government should appoint a mixed commission for international economic contacts which would take care of these matters. Our side might be represented on it by Janusz Beksiak," Walesa said.

"There are no partners to struggle in the world today, but there are partners to economics, economy, business, erased even the old wrongs, like for instance between the FRG and France where the border is just a line on the map while interests are bilateral and beneficial. And this is the effective direction," Walesa said.

Asked whether Poland did not lag behind the neighbouring states in view of violent changes there, Walesa said: "We now seek solutions to concrete problems and in this respect we went farthest, though without fireworks. Some matters will settle themselves, it is no use speeding them up. Rallying is not difficult. We are at the farthest point for we are building the new."

Addressing himself to Chancellor Kohl's ten-point programme of reunification of Germany Walesa came out for economic changes and economic, not political integration of Europe. "Poland should not permit political

moves. Calm and peace can only prevail in conditions of economic integration," he said.

Walesa described restrictions against Poles in East Germany as a natural symptom in a situation of economic underdevelopment and shortages on the market. "This was to be expected, as with commodities in short supply, people scowl at one another and attacks on foreigners come easiest. One should remove the cause not effect," Walesa said.

Regarding the conflict around the Monument to Lenin in Nowa Huta Walesa said: "History will write out the bill. I come out for settling the problem but against stupidity and causing damage."

Walesa spoke with concern about the fate of the Gdansk shipyard where the joint venture with Barbara Piasecka-Johnson will not start activity on January 1, 1990 as planned. "People there do not know what to do. They even consider getting on with no joint ventures whatsoever. On the other hand, four firms are now struggling for the shipyard and disturbing one another. One must tell workers to right things in the shipyard," Walesa said.

Further Reportage on Nowa Huta Events

Solidarity Committee Comments

LD0712060389 Warsaw PAP in English
0008 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Krakow, Dec.6—The Solidarity regional committee "Malopolska" adopted today a statement in which it turned to the District People's Council in Nowa Huta and to the Krakow Municipal People's Council to immediately remove the monument to Lenin from its to-date site in Nowa Huta. Our resolution is not dictated by political reasons but by concern over security and order in the city. If a decision manifesting the will of society is not made immediately, stabilisation will be threatened and district and municipal authorities will be to blame for this, the statement said, in part.

Government Statement

LD0712210189 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The inhabitants of the Nowa Huta district of Krakow ought to have their say about the location of the monument here in ways anticipated by the law; the last word will belong to them, we read in a statement from the spokesman of the government press office. We cannot tolerate vandalism and hooliganism, which the participants in yesterday's incidents indulged in. The forces of law and order, the statement continues, functioning in accordance with the law, will be forced to take much more decisive steps in order to prevent this type of dangerous prank.

Paper Comments on GDR Relations, Changes

LD0812110889 Warsaw PAP in English
1006 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 8—"We are following the events in Czechoslovakia and the GDR with sympathy and approval and we await with hope a continuation of the Soviet perestroika," writes the RZECZPOSPOLITA in a commentary headlined "Calmly About the GDR". Excerpts:

"The evolution in the GDR has however evolved with a hard-to-predict violence. The double-thinking characteristic of other states of real socialism has been brought to the verge of an absurd in the East German Republic. A thesis was officially professed about the emergence of a new nation. Faithfulness was declared to principles of Marxism-Leninism in the most dogmatic version, as were the recognition of the postwar borders and friendships among nations, Poland inclusive, while a majority of society and a significant part of the power elite—deep-down cherished completely different ideals. The price of this kind of schizophrenia is the intensity of the present outburst of strivings for German unity, not only national but political and economic as well. We understand this perfectly well, nonetheless. The price of years of enforced friendship is an increased chauvinism which has chiefly turned against Poles. And this we cannot accept. "The Polish public opinion is following this state of affairs with understandable unease. The trade restrictions against Poles were a calculated move of the governing team which desperately fights to hold on to the last vestiges of power.

"The society of eastern Germany was not submitted to the same school of democracy which befell the citizens of the FRG. On the contrary. It grew in an atmosphere of uniform behaviour. Slogan chanting and torch-light marches. The reaction to this is a turn to democracy seen nowadays but also a surge of rightist-totalitarian yearnings. GDR refugees in the FRG frequently become the infrastructure of groups and parties considered as extremely rightist there. Such as the Republican Party. A too hasty and unconditional reunification could tip the political balance of all of Germany in a dangerous direction."

Discrimination Protested

LD0212102789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 0600 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] The Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation is considering the possibility of recalling from the GDR the Polish employees who are on service contracts there, unless the GDR authorities change the regulations discriminating against Polish citizens, and the persecution of Poles in that country cease. RZECZPOSPOLITA reports on the situation, saying that a considerable number of Polish workers employed in the GDR have been deprived of the possibility to do any shopping at all, including the purchase of food. On many shops there are signs in Polish saying: "Only GDR customers will be served." This brings unambiguous associations with the period of Nazi occupation, RZECZPOSPOLITA says.

Legislative Chamber, National Assembly To Convene

*AU0712191189 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] By a decree signed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Legislative Chamber of the people's councils will be convened on 13 December 1989.

The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] has decided that the proceedings in plenum of the 10th session of the Ninth Legislature of the GNA should be resumed Thursday, 14 December 1989 at 1000 (0800 GMT).

SCINTEIA Discusses Socialist Property

*AU071221 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1924 GMT c 89*

["Socialist Property—A Decisive Factor of Development and Improvement of the New System"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/11/1989—In the aggregate of traits, laws and fundamental principles which define historical legitimacy, the essential novelty and the superiority of socialism over the socioeconomic systems that have succeeded in mankind's evolution lie in the common ownership of the working people over the means of production, in the application of the socialist principles of distribution and the elimination of any form of man's oppression and exploitation by man. The steady development and consolidation of the socialist property is a vital demand, and any diminution of the great socialist property, a comeback to the forms of capitalist property, including the small property, is apt to jeopardize not only the building of socialism but the very economic and social development of peoples, their welfare and independence, writes professor Vasile Nichita, D. Sc., in an article under the above heading run by "SCINTEIA" of 7 December.

The special significance and the superiority of socialist property reside in the fact that it is a basis for the material and spiritual prosperity of a new type of civilization underlain by the people's active participation in making its own socialist and communist destiny. Both as a property of the whole people and as a cooperative property, the socialist property expresses a new type of relations among people as regards to common ownership over the means of production and the results obtained. The RCP [Romanian Communist Party] considers that socialism and communism can be successfully built only on the basis of the working people's common ownership over the means of production. That is why certain antiscientific theses are frail and ununderstandable as regards to the equality between various forms of property belonging to revolute systems, an "equality" which can be but detrimental to the general progress of human society, the more so to the socialist society. Firmly fighting such tendencies which attempt to turn back the clock, the RCP underscores that the physiognomy of the

multilaterally developed socialist society now under construction in Romania is completely different, through its content, from the developed capitalist society of our days. Though the capitalist society still has considerable resources, it has not proved able to solve the fundamental human questions. An assessment of the level attained by the capitalist countries only according to the average per capita income hides great discrepancies between the living conditions of the poor, who grow in number and turn ever poorer, and those of the rich, who are less and become ever richer. The greatest part of the national income belongs to a minority, while the great majority has not even the bare necessities. Aiming at completely different targets, the RCP's strategy which best uses the great advantages of the socialist property and its inexhaustible sources of progress places man and his demands in the centre of its concerns, offers a new, deeply humane outlook on civilization. The RCP starts from the principle that the standard of living and civilization of a people cannot be assessed only according to quantitative material indicators which, certainly, are significant but also to the totality of living, working, learning and cultural conditions provided for the masses. The application of modern technologies, of scientific achievements which in capitalism leads to throwing millions of workers into the streets, to growing unemployment, in socialism is meant to raise working conditions to a higher stage. In the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism, the RCP proclaims social labour as a fundamental human right, as a deciding factor of the assertion and development of human personality. Based on the socialist property, the new system promotes and consistently applies the principles of people's equality and equity. Civic demands can be met not only through individual incomes but also by increasing the role of social expenditure and the share of the civilization and cultural problems solved by society: the improvement of education which is free of charge for all the homeland's sons, the resolution of the housing question and of health care problems, assistance to the families with several children, the elimination of the essential differences between the physical and intellectual work, the rise in the civilization standard of all the homeland's settlements, etc.

All these realities and perspectives are due to the fact that the socialist property enables and requires the ownership by society of the socioeconomic development mechanism, the adjustment of proportions and their optimization in harmony with the demands of objective laws, with the fundamental principles and goals of the new system. The purposeful and planned socioeconomic development, the capability of the new system to unite and streamline the resources and efforts at a macrosocial level toward attaining the basic goals apt to materialize the ideals of socialism and communism make the socialist society by far superior to the previous systems.

The debates in the socialist countries on socialist property are accompanied sometimes by positions and tendencies which not only do not contribute to the advance

of the new system but are openly oriented to the past, to economic structures and forms of organization and management proper to decaying ages. The experience of capitalism, and the past of the peoples in socialist countries prove that the free market, the market economy were indissolubly linked to the deep discrepancies between the rich and the poor, to unemployment, to the cult of individualism and competition, to inflation and instability of prices.

Palpable data in a number of socialist countries that have embarked on that road show that, far from offering viable, long-term solutions to the problems cropped up in the economy, the aforesaid measures pushed prices up, boosted inflation and swelled the number of people who cannot meet their bare necessities with the incomes they earn. Furthermore, speculation amplified helping a minority to grow rich.

The tendencies towards the "reprivatization" of the production means, in an alleged attempt at encouraging competition, run counter to the principles of socialism, to the laws of contemporary technological progress. Like measures have nothing in common with the creative application of the principles of socialism, which are left behind, and they show that an about-turn is made to the past, to a remote past for that matter, as contemporary technological progress and the exigent demands of the revolution in science and technology are inconceivably outside powerful industrial enterprises. Attaining a high level of socialization on the level of society as a whole, socialist property offers unhampered conditions for the application of the latest gains of science and technology, for multilateral progress in the economic and social life.

As facts indicate, "reprivatization" goes hand in hand, "logically," with the theses on the renunciation of unitary management on the basis of a single national plan, of economic and social development, on the diminution of the role of the state, on the renunciation of the leading political role of the communist party and on a comeback to a multi-party system. At the same time, imperialist, reactionary circles, which are directly interested in like developments, undertake concerted action to denigrate and slander socialism, to destabilize the new system. Attempts are made in international economic and financial relations to make the development of commercial exchanges and of economic cooperation and the granting of loans conditional upon the imposition of various programmes and measures intended to destabilize the respective socialist countries, apply the "free market" mechanism and make other economic and political changes which are specific to the capitalist society.

Overcoming with revolutionary lucidity and boldness of the utopian visions, the simplifying, dogmatic schemes according to which the great advantages offered by the socialist property and by socialism as a system could be capitalized by themselves, as well as the stances that underestimate and even deny the role of the socialist property and of socialist principles, the Romanian Communist Party has always worked consistently for a new approach and a novel solution to all the problems related to the improvement and strengthening of the socialist property of the entire people and of cooperative property, of the theory and practice of socialist construction as a whole. Noteworthy in this context is the RCP's steady concern for the promotion of a firm policy of allotting a substantial share of the national income to accumulation, "SCINTEIA" writes in conclusion.

SAWPY Presidium Addresses Serb, Slovene Issue

LD0712202589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1928 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—That reason must prevail is, in short, a view of the majority of participants in the discussion at today's extraordinary session of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference Presidium, which considered the current political situation in the country. The occasion, as is known, is a clash between the leaderships of Slovenia and Serbia, which has brought into question prospects for a life together in the SFRY.

Branko Azeski turned up the heat at the very beginning of the session by demanding that the agenda be reformulated to leave room for establishing responsibility for the situation in the country. Noting the controlling role of the SAWPY envision by the SFRY Constitution, he specified that this has to be the last chance for the SAWPY to exercise that role.

Jelena Milojevic replied that the Socialist Alliance, apart from the controlling role, has the obligation to set in motion political and other initiatives, which, under concrete circumstances, does not preclude the possibility of establishing responsibility for the current political situation. She noted that the same topic will be on the agenda of the next session of the SAWPY Federal Conference, to be convened 13 December.

The answer to Jozе Smole's question of whether a simultaneous translation of the discussion is being provided was negative, because the 15 translators called did not accept the job due to inappropriate conditions for work incurred by the speed of convocation of the session.

In the introductory speech, Jelena Milojevic said that Yugoslavia these days is going through one of the most dramatic periods in its recent history, and that its survival and territorial integrity are threatened.

Disagreements and divisions among political and state leaderships and the lack of preparedness to conduct a democratic dialogue, as well as the powerlessness of federal bodies to contribute more significantly to finding common solutions for a way out of the crisis, threaten most directly, as she stressed, the foundations of our constitutional order and cause the deepest concern of every well-intentioned citizen of Yugoslavia.

Stressing that there are still not significant results in improving the situation in Kosovo, Jelena Milojevic stressed that the decision to hold the Meeting of Truth in Ljubljana stemmed from the conviction of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo that the Slovene public is insufficiently and unobjectively informed about their problems, and, inter alia, from their feeling of being insulted by the tolerant attitude of the Slovene leadership toward demands and gatherings of Albanians.

Not only banning the meeting, but the way in which it was done, according to Jelena Milojevic, indicate the

understanding of democracy and freedom of expression of views, and about rights that exist only within "one's own" republic and about a certain understanding of constitutional authority of the federation. Those advocating the heritage of European civilizational, political pluralism, and freedom of association must prove this in the practice of the political life of the Yugoslav community, she stressed.

The proclamation of the Serbian SAWP Presidium, as a reaction to measures in Slovenia, exacerbated relations between the two republics even more; it spread mutual disagreements to the Yugoslav realm. The call for severing cooperation can disturb the structure of overall political and economic relations in the country to such an extent that it is almost impossible to realize the true dimensions of its possible effects on the economy, implementation of the economic reform, and Yugoslavia's integration in the world.

Calling on reason, Jelena Milojevic said that universal and common interest must be primary, and no one, for any reason whatsoever, must isolate oneself in relation to others, least of all through the use of force or severance of economic and other relations, because, she concluded, only in a united state do we have a chance to survive and progress.

To the remark of Jozе Smole that representatives of Serbia should take the floor first, since that republic severed ties and its representative yesterday said that Serbia will adhere to its position until forces of conservatism, aggression and tyranny in Slovene politics cede their place to democratic, peace-loving and brotherly ones, Jelena Milojevic answered that there is no need for the Presidium to determine order of participants in the discussion.

Pavle Bogetic then took the floor first. Drawing attention to disunity in the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, he said that the attitude of Serbs to Kosovo is similar to the attitude of Slovenes toward their language, and that, therefore, Slovene and Albanian intellectuals should understand Serbian sensitivity to the events in the province. He stressed that the ban on the meeting should be condemned and that causes and effects in the situation cannot be judged by the same criteria, more so because the gathering of Albanians in Ljubljana was allowed, and the meeting of truth was banned.

Marjan Kotar answered that the meeting of Albanians was not reported, and that, therefore, it was illegal. He added that after the police warning, the protestors dispersed and that all speakers were handed over to magistrates. [passage omitted]

Ljubomir Varoslija noted that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium was not a priori against rallies, but that it had warned on several occasions of the consequences they might bring about in a complex community such as ours. Stressing that the events in the wake of the rally have also

demonstrated the federal organs' political impotence, he added this was no longer a matter of confrontations between two leaderships or republics but a danger of confrontations between nations.

Varoslija pointed out the fact that a greater part of the public had been embittered over the violation of human rights caused by the fact that the rally had been banned, but he also expressed his disagreement with the fact that Serbia declared the severance of relations, as well as with any future appeals that lead to the destruction of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

The Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo do not understand the total lack of understanding in Slovenia for their problems, Daut Jasanica said, because in this way Albanian separatism is being fueled and those who work at breaking up Yugoslavia are supported. After recalling the reasons for convening the rally of truth, he went on to stress that Kosovo should be helped and that if leaderships and individuals in Slovenia wanted to help, they should change their attitude toward the action taken in order to improve the situation in the province.

Yugoslavia is a shared state and no one, in Zejnel Bogovic's words, has the right to destabilize or divide it according to one's own interests. I oppose all threats that insult dignity by banning citizens' free movement, as well as economic blockades that would stifle the economic reform and dismantle the unity of the Yugoslav market, he stressed. This means that reason, tolerance and understanding are needed if we wish to resolve the confrontations in the country. [passage omitted]

Viktor Zakelj commented on yesterday's statements of Milosevic: "The great leader who united Serbia is calling on Slovenia, just as one Kosovo, to find people like Morina, the sort of recognizable features and intelligence."

There were attempts at imposing heremonism and unitarism upon Yugoslavia made by Nikola Pasic and King Aleksandar and now, it appears, by Milosevic as well, but all of them were unsuccessful. The new scenario is a familiar one: to topple Drnovsek and then Markovic, as an introductory stage for extraordinary measures and a situation whereby a centralist and dogmatic model would be installed, without any market, pluralism and national equality.

Zakelj, as he put it, would even accept dialogue with Solevic and Kecman [leaders of the Committee of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo] if only they came to tell him that differentiation yielded no results nor did arrests of 100-200 Albanian intellectuals... In the course of their 1,500-year history the Slovenes were only twice driven out of their land, by the Germans in 1941 and by Svabic recently. He went on to explain in detail the ban on the rally by "an aversion to full contact" and the Slovenes' historical experiences of Turkish invasions, all sorts of "messengers" and the Italian fascist hordes immediately after World War I.

The Slovenes were specially irritated by the date—1 December, the founding day of the old Yugoslavia. He likened the decision to cut off relations to Stalin's economic blockade against Yugoslavia and regarded it as "the first official separatist act in Yugoslavia" and, as for banning the rally, he stressed, this is not the leadership's decision but "an act of a state with the rule of law and the republic's assembly." Finally, Zakelj was proving by figures that Slovenia did not trade much with Serbia and that it was highly integrated in the European economy, and also claimed that the violation of human rights in Kosovo and the economic blockade declared by one political organization (Serbian SAWP) was going to discourage foreign investments in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Marijan Kalanj recalled the Croat SAWP's negative stands on rallies, but he stressed that this republic had been pointing to the magnitude of the Kosovo problem and was aware of its significance for the destiny of the entire country. Therefore, he said, we cannot acknowledge the accusations that our leadership supports the counterrevolution in Kosovo and pointed out that if one republic wanted respect for its leadership then it should respect others as well. Slobodan Milosevic's speech of yesterday, Kalanj said, did not help me to understand that this is what Serbia wants.

By approving the ban on the Ljubljana rally, Marijan Kalanj stressed, Croatia does not want to approve of nationalist and retaliatory behavior in Slovenia, and consequently it demands that the SFRY's competent organs ensure order, peace and security for every citizen in the country.

After Marijan Kalanj's address, Risto Dzunov and Uros Bajic dissociated themselves from Zakelj's speech.

At the time when the Ljubljana rally was being announced, the Slovene SAWP, Marjan Kotar noted, tried on several occasions to create a dialogue with the Serbian SAWP. Dialogue was, however, declined on the part of the Serbian SAWP with the explanation that this republic's SAWP was not the organizer of the rally and that it had nothing to do with it. Nevertheless, the statement of the Presidium of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference proved that the Serbian SAWP had been the real organizer behind the scene.

Kotar also commented on the true intentions behind the Ljubljana rally, pointing to some messages by those who were intent on coming to this aborted meeting. Kotar mentioned "we will topple the Slovene leadership," "you shall excuse for the Cankar Hall," "the amendments to the Slovene Constitution must be erased," something that, in his opinion, reveals what the true aim was. [passage omitted]

According to Joze Smole, the current crisis was instigated by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, because Slovenia did not set in motion the initiative to sever relations. For that reason, he said, I do not accept any kind of symmetric blame,

because Slovenia so far has not done anything against the law and against the Yugoslav peoples. Thus, Smole stressed, there is just one path to resolving the crisis, that the Serbian SAWP withdraws its proclamation.

Smole then warned that the call for severance of relations is the most glaring violation of the Article 250 and 252 of the SFRY Constitution, dealing with the unity of the Yugoslav market, which is punishable under Article 161 of the SFRY Penal Code. Jozе Smole also believes that objections can be raised against a part of Viktor Zakelj's speech, but that the latter's remarks indicate that those who think that they, the Slovene leaders, would give in under pressure, are wrong.

Then he recounted how shocked he was, and that he could not believe it when they told him about the proclamation of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP; he was also, as he put it, shocked by yesterday's speech by Slobodan Milosevic. Jozе Smole then called on all efforts to establish a dialogue between Slovenia and Serbia, but "the other side" has always given a negative reply. He also drew attention to the letter by Janez Stanovnik and Slobodan Milosevic's reply, in which the president of the Serbian Presidency, as Smole put it, sent a message that there could be no dialogue until the Slovene leadership changes its position toward Kosovo and its "anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav policy."

Smole stressed that another offer was made; that the meeting would be cancelled if he apologizes to the Serbian people, if the Slovene Assembly withdraws the amendments to the Slovene Constitution or if Kucan resigns. This reveals the real aim of the organizers of the meeting, but they forgot that Slovenia has the right to defend its sovereignty. Smole holds that, therefore, "it was lucky that state bodies banned the march on (?Ljubljana).

After Jozе Smole, Radmila Andjelicovic took the floor. Answering his remark that Serbian representatives have not spoken yet, she said "that this demonstrates most clearly the ambitions of the Slovene leadership to dictate how things will be done in Yugoslavia and Serbia."

Radmila Andjelicovic rejected Viktor Zakelj's speech. Answering Marjan Kotar, she said that the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP did not organize the meeting, but the Socialist Alliance of that republic provides opportunity for broad initiatives of citizens. She then said that the Slovene leadership's measures are an act of aggression unprecedented in modern Yugoslavia; the use of force against those who wanted to tell the truth "is a shameful act." She noted that, thereby, "socialism for the individual has become socialism with a policeman per head of the population." She judged that Slovenia broke off ties first by closing its borders, and Serbian reaction is a spontaneous reply to "violence."

The proclamation of the Serbian SAWP, Radmila Andjelicovic said, resulted also from the policy that Slovenia has been carrying out for some time. According to her,

the important features of that policy are the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], the rejection of the constitutional changes in Serbia, the meeting in the Cankar Hall, open support for Albanian separatists in Kosovo, while at the same time, she said, Slovenia "takes from Yugoslavia just what suits it."

Cooperation between Serbian citizens and Slovenia can only be voluntary, Radmila Andjelicovic said, and they "do not want it, until issues are settled." We, she said, do not want to live under the orders of a single policy. We expect that all Yugoslavia evaluates whether it is possible to live according to the criteria of just one center. Thus, she noted, We expect that behavior of the Slovene leadership is condemned, and it is up to the republic to prove "that it is still a part of Yugoslavia and that the Federal Constitution still applies there."

The Serbian SAWP expects the Slovene leadership—Radmila Andjelicovic made it clear—to apologize to Yugoslav citizens, to abort its support for Albanian separatists, and to respect the decisions of the constitutional court, so that they can prove that they are still a part of Yugoslavia.

Jozе Smole replied that serious groundless accusations about Slovenia have been uttered. It follows that there is a view that Serbia is Yugoslavia and vice versa—that is, that Serbia determines what counts as Yugoslavia. This incredible conception of Yugoslavia is confirmed by accusations of alleged treason.

Then Smole denied a shorthand report that at a recent meeting of representatives of the republican and provincial SAWP conferences he said Slovenia would not take a part in the Yugoslav program on Kosovo.

Noting that while state socialism is crumbling everywhere, it is reaffirmed in our country, and that this is the essence of the problem, Ines Saskor stressed, that the once-original authenticity of our revolution is now used for equating bureaucratic power and the people in the name of defending one's status. There is no national interest as such, she maintains; the brutal manipulation of a nation is a way to hide the authorities' powerlessness to resolve economic problems, to allow democratization, and establish a law-governed state.

Serbia has its conception and it said that it will implement it in all of Yugoslavia; but it forgot that a precondition for this is that others accept its conception as well. Slovenia has a conception that is in tune with Europe, but is somehow narrow-minded, something which was evident this evening.

A Croatian conception is implementation of reforms through democratic means, so that both republics and the federation are preserved, because otherwise we will not survive. We are prepared to fight for that model, but we are not going to topple anyone. We are advocating criticism of everyone, but also believe that legitimate bodies can be removed only by those who elected them.

A concrete problem has arisen when meetings, originally a real expression of sufferings of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, became a means for achieving political goals. We wanted to believe that the Serbian leadership is not behind the Bozur and Solidarity organizations, and that Kertes is just a passing phenomenon, but the president of the Serbian presidency dissuaded us. Why does truth about Kosovo have to be what the Kosovo Polje-based committee advocates, when it is clear that there can be no truth without hearing Albanian nationality and without implementing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo? she asked.

Recalling that last year bodies in the federation and Serbia adopted a position opposed to meetings in other environments without approval, Ines Saskor said that a parade of the Slovene police in Ljubljana was grotesque, but there was no willingness to accept forms of spreading truth about Kosovo proposed by that republic.

Saying that the Serbian proclamation cannot be defended with arguments grounded in law, she concluded with the proposal that sociopolitical organizations ensure continuation of a dialogue between the two republics. This requires that Serbia withdraw its "sentence," and that Slovenia find a way to hear Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and that, finally, "all of us hear everything."

The proclamation is not the call of the Presidium of the republican conference of the Serbian SAWP but of all its nations and nationalities, Dejan Milovanovic said. Serbia has sobered up and there can be no return to times prior to the adoption of the 1974 Constitution. It does not ask that others behave as it demands, but it asks for equality and respect.

We thought that after the brotherhood and unity train things would change, Milovanovic went on, but then meetings of Albanians in Ljubljana, the obituary for Slobodan Milosevic, and books about Vlasi occurred. Causes and effects are confused; our act is not made out of spite, but rather our position is well-thought out. [passage omitted]

Slovenia, Milovanovic stressed, was opposed to the introduction of special measures in Kosovo, but it introduced them swiftly on its territory. Meetings obviously strike a terror for reasons best known to those who are frightened.

Stressing that Serbia is not closed to dialogue, Milovanovic repeated that it will persist in its demands that the Slovene leadership's policy toward Kosovo is changed, that a new constitution is adopted as soon as possible, and that everyone in Yugoslavia must agree about some vital issues for Yugoslavia. He joined in criticism of the federal bodies by saying that they have not foretold well the consequences of this situation.

Yugoslavia is falling apart, Milan Rakas said. I thought that today's discussion would be a successful attempt to calm passions and halt a dreadful process that could

have tragic consequences. Our responsibility is even greater because we have no authority from further generations to decide about whether Yugoslavia will survive or not.

Turning to the criticism of federal bodies, while stressing that he is aware of risks carried by his words, he judged that the SFRY Presidency, due to a fetish concerning the nation at the expense of class, human and civil, is brought into the position whereby today it cannot introduce even special measures. The collective head of state, according to Rakas, is in a stalemate position, in which it will remain for a long time. This can be seen in the difference between the public statements of its members, and how they voted in connection with the latest conflicts between Serbia and Slovenia, since the result was four in favor, and four opposed.

If they voted as they said publicly, they could have been revoked, which only points out that the Presidency, as presently organized, could only function under the condition that each individual passes over the imperative mandate of his republic. Although army intervention would be a tragedy, there is no point in even contemplating it, because, according to Rakas, the supreme commander is in a stalemate position.

If we do not succeed in liberating federal bodies, and if we do not want to negotiate, then the Hague-style court for "resolving" economic issues and the introduction of the "blue helmets" at republican borders is waiting for us, Rakas warned. He proposed asking the SFRY Assembly to find a solution for a smooth functioning of the federation, that is, that new amendments to the SFRY Constitution envision that members of the Yugoslav Presidency apart from "their" assemblies, are accountable to the Yugoslav Assembly.

Rakas stressed at the end that he cannot accept the defense of republican sovereignty and borders the way Slovenia has done; in no federation or confederation in the world, except in the United States during the Civil War, has such a severance of relations occurred like the one proposed by Serbia. He, thus, called for a dialogue without ultimatums.

Considering today's debate, Suada Numinagic, expressed her fear that decision-making in the SFRY Assembly might encounter a blockade regarding the situation arisen by the confrontation between Slovenia and Serbia. Marjan Kotoric's opinion, however, is that the discussion and decision-making in the assembly must be carried out and things clarified in "the highest organ of power and self-management."

He regarded the behavior and positions of the people from the Serbian SAWP as "being arrogant, repulsive and conceited" as he noted that the two speakers, (President Radmila Andjelkovic's and that of the secretary of the Presidium Dejan Milovanovic) had at least been in the same league as that of Viktor Zakelj, which had triggered off a series of dissociations from Zakelj's speech. [passage omitted]

In its conclusions, which will be sent to the delegates of the SAWP Federal Conference after having been supplemented with the proposals put forward in today's debate, the Presidium takes on the obligation to initiate separate and joint talks about the consequences and causes of the dispute between the most responsible organs of Serbia and Slovenia and the SAWP conferences of these two republics.

The demands presented by the representatives of Serbia and Slovenia as the preconditions for further cooperation should be the key item on the agenda of these talks, Jelena Milojevic stressed. Since the dispute is rooted more deeply, one should also consider other things that influenced the decline in relations between the two republics. It is also necessary to initiate debate in the republics, provinces, and the federation in order to clarify all those things that impede the implementation of the Yugoslav program for Kosovo, and establish the responsibility for the failure to implement it. Criticism was also addressed to the media and their supporters, who, according to Jelena Milojevic, should prevent the realm of information in Yugoslavia from turning into a battleground for a media war.

It was stated that the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee, the Yugoslav Assembly and the Federal Executive Council ought to take more effective measures in accordance with their constitutional competences in order to remove the causes of the dispute between Serbia and Slovenia. They must also consider the situation once again and deploy all legal and other means at their disposal in order to stop the dispute from escalating, ensure the functioning of the federation, and stabilize the situation in the country.

It is also necessary to speed up the work on the new SFRY Constitution, because the present situation is largely caused by inadequate solutions in the character and functioning of the Yugoslav Federation. The proposal that certain questions of macroeconomic relations in the country should be regulated by amendments to the SFRY Constitution even before the making of the country's new supreme law was also supported.

Presidency, FEC Consulted on Joint Session

LD0712194489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—After today's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, at which delegates, due to the serious political and security situation in the country and the latest events in relations between the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, demanded urgent convocation of both assembly's chambers, a letter was sent to the SFRY Presidency from the SFRY Assembly, and another one to the Federal Executive Council (FEC) from the Federal Chamber.

The SFRY Presidency and the FEC were advised, through the letters about the conclusion of the Federal

Chamber session, that an urgent session of that assembly's chamber should be convened at the latest by 15 December and that both chambers should discuss the topic.

It was demanded from the SFRY Presidency, the letter signed by President of the SFRY Assembly Slobodan Gligorijevic states, that it present in writing its stances about the situation in the country, especially about its role as a harmonizer of common interests of republics and provinces. The SFRY Presidency should assess in its stances increasingly more frequent phenomena of breaching constitutional order and putting into jeopardy the SFRY's unity and integrity. It is demanded from the state Presidency that its president and all members of the Yugoslav Presidency attend the session.

In the letter to the FEC, signed by Chairman of the Federal Chamber Bogdanka Glumac Levkov, it is demanded that the federal government propose to the SFRY Assembly concrete measures for overcoming the current political situation. Apart from this, the FEC is duty-bound to present a report to the Federal Chamber regarding whether or not the measures undertaken with the aim of banning the "Meeting of Truth" in Ljubljana are based on the Yugoslav Constitution and laws, and an opinion about possible consequences of the proclamation of the Presidium of the republican conference of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People.

Both letters stress that the SFRY Presidency and FEC should forward their answers as soon as possible to the SFRY Assembly, so that a session (of both chambers) can be held by the end of the next week.

Further on Serbian Economic Blockade of Slovenia

Smole Discusses Blockade

LD0712210389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—It is my impression that the comrades in the Serbian leadership are very serious this time as far as the economic blockade of Slovenia and the severing of all relations are concerned since it is their deep belief that Slovenia will capitulate," the president of the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference, Joze Smole, said in a talk with the editors of Ljubljana Radio and Television. [quote marks as received]

Asked to disclose his impressions of the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference that ended last night, Joze Smole said that Serbian arrogance" [quote marks as received] was expressed in the course of the debate because they are convinced that the Slovene nation is opposed to its leadership, and that the measures introduced in connection with the rally of truth in Ljubljana were introduced because of the Slovene leadership's fear of its own people.

The session's main conclusion was that Serbia would continue to cut off all its economic, political, cultural and other ties with Slovenia. Jozе Smole considered this to be a "flagrant violation of the SFRY Constitution and our laws." The Serbian SAWP's declaration on putting Slovenia under economic blockade, Smole maintains, should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, in his opinion, at yesterday's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference this policy was met with a considerable degree of isolation. Political isolation was decidedly opposed by Croatia's representatives, resolutely by Bosnia-Herzegovina's representatives and, to a certain degree, by Macedonia's as well.

In this connection, Jozе Smole mentioned the reactions of some work organizations in Vojvodina and Kosovo that disagree with the severing of relations between Serbia and Slovenia. Neither should Slovenia underestimate the consequences of the blockade, especially not in the economy. This is why Slovenia needs a clearer strategy in order to become more independent and linked to an even greater extent to Europe and the world.

Slovene Executive Council Comments

*LD0712214389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Slovenia has never permitted—nor will it—any kind of bullying, nor will it

permit the adherents of the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution to bring down Slovenia's leadership and replace its legitimate representatives and state organs according to their own yardsticks and criteria. This was stressed in a statement from the session of the Executive Council of the Slovene Assembly.

In connection with the call for an economic blockade of Slovenia, and following the latest appearance of the president of the Serbian Presidency in the Serbian Assembly, it has become clear, the statement said, that it is not really a question of intrigues surrounding rallies, but rather a confrontation of two different visions of the future development of Yugoslavia and the character of our federation. The economic blockade of Slovenia is senseless and unreasonable, but clearly a calculated and well-planned action, which with all its possible consequences is aimed, above all, against the functioning of the joint Yugoslav market and against the reform efforts of the federal government. Slovenia will oppose all attempts to destroy Yugoslavia, which are in fact attacks on its sovereignty.

The Slovene Executive Council adopted a decision to inform the Federal Executive Council of every specific interruption of economic contacts between the enterprises of Serbia and Slovenia.